# Daily Report

# Soviet Union

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## Soviet Union

*FBIS-SOV-89-233* 6 December 1989

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## Soviet-U.S. Verification Commission Meets

*LD0512032589 Moscow TASS in English 2100 GMT 4 Dec 89*

[Text] Geneva December 4 TASS—A regular, sixth session of the Special Verification Commission opened here today. The Commission was established in accordance with the treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States on the elimination of their intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles.

The session is to complete the work on the memorandum of understanding regarding the applications of the provisions on verification contained in the treaty.

## Moiseyev Evaluates Strategic Arms Talks

*LD0512131789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1212 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Moscow, 5 Dec (TASS)—"The negotiations on a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive weapons have reached a stage where it is essential to seek a solution for unresolved problems at the political level," Army General Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed forces, declared. He gave an interview to TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy in connection with U.S. President George Bush's proposal at negotiations with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to speed up negotiations on reducing strategic offensive weapons (START).

General Moiseyev is of the opinion that the development of the negotiating process on this issue cannot take place through unilateral concessions alone, but demands that the interests of both sides must be taken into account, and demands mutual shifts.

Speaking of the major, currently unresolved problems of strategic offensive weapons, observance of the antimissile defense treaty (ABM), the procedure for reckoning heavy bombers and air-launched cruise missiles, and limitation and control [kontrol] of sea- launched cruise missiles, General Moiseyev stated the need to seek new variants of mutually acceptable solutions. According to the chief of the General Staff, this must be done counting on finally coordinating problems on strategic offensive weapons during the summit in June 1990.

"Under these conditions, a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons could be signed by the end of 1990," Army General Mikhail Moiseyev said in conclusion.

## Strategic Arms Limitation Issues Pondered

*PM0412100789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Nov 89 First Edition p 3*

[Article by Lieutenant General (Retired) Ye. Volkov, doctor of historical sciences and professor: "Within the Limits of Reasonable Sufficiency: Further Thoughts on the Prospects for Strategic Offensive Arms Reduction"]

[Text] As strategic offensive armaments are built up and improved, so the problem of reducing them becomes more and more acute. In 1988 America's strategic offensive armaments included 2,260 delivery vehicles (ICBM's, SLBM's, and heavy bombers) carrying 14,000-16,000 nuclear charges. The USSR had around 2,500 delivery vehicles and approximately 10,000 nuclear charges. Despite the considerable difference in the number of charges, the combat potential of the two countries' strategic offensive armaments is approximately identical, which makes it possible to assess the prevailing situation as strategic parity. All the other states possessing nuclear weapons (Britain, France, and the PRC) have considerably fewer nuclear munitions.

The following questions occur: When did these vast quantities of U.S. and USSR strategic offensive armaments appear and who initiated their creation? The answers are provided by the table below, compiled from information cited in a recent book by former U.S. Defense Secretary McNamara entitled "Blundering Toward Catastrophe" (Nauka Publishing House, 1988). The table shows how the number of nuclear delivery vehicles in the U.S. and USSR strategic offensive armaments has changed over the years.

| | 1955 | 1960 | 1965 | 1970 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| United States | 400 | 670 | 1,850 | 2,270 |
| USSR | a few | 150 | 475 | 1,745 |

These figures show that the nuclear arms race was begun by the United States. The Soviet Union developed its strategic offensive armaments with a lag of around 5 years and in response to the threat of nuclear war against it which the United States at times did not even consider necessary to hide.

The quantity of U.S. and USSR strategic offensive armaments is now clearly excessive. The need to reduce them to improve the international atmosphere and cut military spending is one of the most important military-political problems of the present day. This can and should be resolved, a fact which can be said to be universally recognized. However, opinions differ on the question of how far that reduction should go and what order it should be carried out in.

The requisite quantity of any weapon is established from an analysis of the course and results of likely combat actions involving use of that weapon. There are two preliminary questions to be resolved here: In what conditions will it be used and for the solution of which combat tasks?

In the time since strategic offensive arms first appeared, views on the ways of using nuclear weapons have changed. The United States developed a succession of different strategies for waging nuclear war ("massive retaliation," "flexible response," and "realistic deterrence"). In 1981 the strategy of "direct confrontation" was adopted. It allows the possibility of waging war using

conventional (nonnuclear) means and multiple scenarios for the use of nuclear armaments: From limited nuclear strikes against individual targets to the massive use of nuclear weapons against the full range of installations on the territory of the USSR (including, of course, strategic offensive armaments installations) and its allies. What is particularly important is that this strategy, like all its predecessors, envisages the possibility of a first, surprise nuclear strike by the United States.

The Soviet Union's position is different. It has stated that it will never be first to use nuclear weapons. Therefore, for it to determine the requisite level of strategic offensive armaments it is necessary to use the scenario of the retaliatory strike which it would carry out after nuclear and nonnuclear action by an enemy. If the enemy has an ABM system it is necessary to take into account warhead losses incurred in overcoming that ABM system in addition to our losses of strategic offensive armaments from the enemy's first strike.

As for the tasks of using strategic offensive armaments, the most important, obvious one corresponding to the defensive doctrine adopted by our country is that of deterring an enemy from launching nuclear war by the threat of inflicting unacceptable damage on him in a retaliatory strike. The scale of that damage is established on the basis of an analysis of what losses of industrial potential will deprive an aggressor country of the ability to continue a war. It is in precisely that way and that way alone that the number of warheads required to carry out a retaliatory strike against industrial installations is determined. To that figure one may add the warheads needed to resolve other tasks, too (the destruction of military installations, the reserve, and so on).

Thus, to determine the necessary quantity of warheads in the strategic offensive armaments you have to add to the number of warheads required to inflict unacceptable damage on an opponent in a retaliatory strike the likely warhead losses incurred both in overcoming the ABM system and from the enemy's first strike.

These losses are determined by modeling the relevant combat actions. The model incorporates hundreds of characteristics of the enemy's weapons systems, our own strategic offensive armaments, and many support systems (combat control and communications systems, ABM systems, those warning of missile attack, space reconnaissance systems, and so forth). The changing of any of these characteristics changes the result obtained. Calculations are computed for the long term. Therefore it is necessary to anticipate the possibility of changes in all the aforementioned characteristics and for that purpose it is necessary to take into account the possible results of developments in many spheres of science, technology, and industry. Modeling is used to assess several forms of the development of strategic offensive armaments from which the optimum one is then chosen, for example, the one which ensures the fulfillment of the set combat tasks with minimum losses.

It follows from this that the required level of our strategic offensive armaments is directly linked to the state of the potential enemy's weapons systems, primarily the strategic offensive armaments of the United States. Therefore, it is fundamentally wrong to examine the possibility of the reduction of Soviet strategic offensive armaments (and sometimes people even propose radical unilateral reductions) without taking into account the state of the U.S. strategic offensive armaments.

The results of the aforementioned scientific studies demonstrate that at the present level of development of Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive armaments, the former and the latter are capable of resolving the task of deterrence. They also indicate that the task of deterrence can be resolved even with lower levels of strategic offensive armaments, but only if they are reduced on a reciprocal basis, at the same time, and in a coordinated way.

Around 20 years ago strategic arms limitation talks began between the USSR and the United States. In 1972 SALT I was concluded, banning the further increase of the number of ballistic missile launchers. In 1979 the SALT II Treaty was signed. Even though it did not enter into force as it was not ratified in the United States, the development of both countries' strategic offensive armaments took place effectively within the framework of that treaty. It laid down the maximum quantity of delivery vehicles for each country and placed other limitations on the composition and characteristics of strategic offensive armaments. However, it did not set direct limits on such a major characteristic of strategic offensive armaments as the total number of warheads. Subsequently that quantity continued increasing, which caused a considerable growth in the combat potential of strategic offensive armaments.

The well known statement of 15 January 1986 by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, set out a program in the field of the reduction and subsequently (by the year 2000) destruction of nuclear armaments. The program provides for the consistent phased reduction of the USSR and U.S. strategic offensive armaments and afterwards those of the other countries possessing nuclear weapons. Unfortunately, this program did not find support in the United States or NATO.

The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles was concluded in 1987 and is currently being implemented. A treaty on the 50-percent reduction of the USSR and U.S. strategic offensive armaments is being prepared. Under the draft treaty the total number of strategic offensive armaments delivery vehicles should be cut to 1,600 in each country and the total number of nuclear charges on them should be reduced to 6,000. The conclusion of that treaty would be of great military-political significance. It should be taken into account that even in conditions of parity a certain likelihood remains that a conflict will occur and that it may develop into nuclear war. The higher the level

of arms development, the greater that likelihood is. Strategic offensive armaments reduction is also important because it increases strategic stability.

Assessments of the correlation between the combat potentials of the USSR and U.S. strategic offensive armaments after the proposed 50 percent reduction shows that strategic parity will be maintained. However, the lower the level of strategic offensive armaments is, the more noticeable other factors which affect parity become. Therefore, after the reduction it will be even more important that no country takes any additional actions aimed at undermining parity. In particular, renunciation of the deployment of ABM systems, especially those with space-based elements, becomes particularly significant.

The logical question is: What might happen after that 50-percent reduction? The results of research show that further, deeper strategic offensive armaments reductions are possible. It is important to ensure that strategic parity is preserved here. It is quite obvious that, with the reduction of the sides' total quantity of nuclear and conventional armaments, the anticipated losses of strategic offensive armaments from a first strike fall and their initial level can be reduced. The lower level of such a reduction is sometimes referred to as the "limit of sufficiency."

A group of Soviet scientists studying strategic stability has set the maximum level of the reduction of strategic offensive armaments under this scenario at 600 charges, that is, 10 times less than that proposed by the 50-percent reduction. These results, as the authors themselves note, are approximate and require clarification. However, it is patently obvious that with such a deep reduction of strategic offensive armaments, a number of highly important additional conditions must be met. They include: The absence of systems which destabilize the correlation between strategic offensive armaments potentials (ABM, space weapons, and so forth); the participation in the reduction process of not only the USSR and the United States but also the other states possessing strategic offensive armaments; the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons in the world; the significant reduction of other types of weapons; guaranteed verification of the state of strategic offensive armaments, and so forth.

So how are matters in this sphere at present and, most importantly, what are the prospects ensuing from that? They depend on a number of factors and conditions. First of all: Will the United States observe the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972? The implementation of the SDI ("star wars") program aimed at acquiring qualitative superiority will inevitably cause an arms race for many years to come. Therefore the USSR, which has declared its readiness to sign and ratify a treaty on the 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive armaments, has stipulated two conditions in the event that an accord isn't reached on the ABM problem by the time the treaty is elaborated. First, the sides must observe the ABM Treaty. Second, the right is reserved to withdraw from the strategic offensive armaments treaty if one of the sides fails to observe the ABM Treaty.

It was noted earlier that the level of development of our strategic offensive armaments sufficient for parity depends not only on the number of U.S. strategic offensive armaments, but also on their characteristics. Unfortunately, the process of their intensive improvement is continuing at present. MX ICBM's are replacing the old ones, the preparation of Trident-2 SLBM's is nearing completion, and the production of the new B-2 bombers has begun. It isn't hard to see that the improvement of these combat systems is proceeding in a direction which sharply increases their ability to destroy Soviet strategic offensive armaments (increasing the yield of nuclear charges, increasing accuracy, and so forth). The possibility of creating fundamentally new types of weapons is also being researched.

What effect can all this have on the USSR's strategic offensive armaments and what measures should it take? First and foremost, it should take measures to increase survivability (the concealment of strategic offensive armaments installations from the enemy, increasing their resistance to the effect of nuclear and other types of weapons, and so on). This qualitative improvement will fully correspond to the defensive character of Soviet military doctrine.

Thus the reduction of the strategic offensive armaments of the USSR and the United States is possible only if it is implemented simultaneously by both countries while preserving strategic parity at each stage.

## Commentary Views Nuclear Disarmament in Asia

*OW0312143589 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 23 Nov 89*

[Alekseyev commentary]

[Text] The high point of Canadian Prime Minister Mulroney's visit to the USSR was the signing of the Soviet-Canadian political declaration on 21 November. The following are portions of station observer Alekseyev's commentary on the document that deals with the stand of the USSR on nuclear disarmament, a major issue facing the international community today:

As the Soviet-Canadian political declaration indicates, the stand of the sides on this issue is completely identical. Here I would like you to note that both the Soviet Union and Canada are big Pacific powers and both are interested in speeding up disarmament in the Asia-Pacific region. For these reasons, it is particularly significant for Moscow and Ottawa to speak highly of the USSR-U.S. Intermediate Nuclear Forces [INF] treaty which was signed and took effect 1 and ½ years ago. Some people in the West have called it a European missile treaty, but this is incorrect, because the INF treaty also requires the elimination of 436 intermediate-range and short-range missiles in the USSR Far East.

The Canadian leader believes that the fact that the Soviet Union has eliminated its missiles in Asia represents convincing proof of Soviet implementation of new thinking in international political affairs.

Other nations in the region, including China, have their own views toward the Asian part of the INF treaty. Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen said: The INF treaty is a major contribution to peace in Asia. The treaty is just the beginning of nuclear disarmament. We must continue to advance.

The Soviet Union and the United States are busy negotiating something bigger—a treaty that will reduce by 50 percent the strategic offensive weapons of the two nations. In the political declaration, the Soviet Union and Canada call for the earliest possible completion of the negotiations on this treaty.

For a while, some nations in the Asia-Pacific region had the illusion that they would be able to escape catastrophe in the event of a nuclear conflict between the two superpowers. Now they know that nuclear weapons are a threat to mankind—to human survival itself.

In the current efforts to further reduce the nuclear arsenals of the United States and Soviet Union, it is incumbent upon the governments and public of all nations to promote this cause. I believe that the support of China, the largest nation in Asia, which has a nuclear arsenal of its own, is particularly significant.

## PRAVDA Reports Modrow Meetings With Officials

### Talks With Gorbachev

*PM0512115589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Dec 89 Second Edition p 1*

[TASS report: "M.S. Gorbachev's Talks With H. Modrow"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev had talks with H. Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, on 4 December. H. Modrow noted the exceptional complexity of the situation in the GDR and stressed the GDR coalition government's desire to seek ways of getting out of the crisis in accordance with the people's aspirations.

It was noted that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] is preparing for its extraordinary congress, which will have to form a government capable of restoring the party's prestige as one of the main forces of social progress in the GDR.

M.S. Gorbachev gave assurances that the Soviet people see the GDR as a reliable friend and ally and an important guarantor of peace and stability in Europe. The SED and our German friends can always count on the solidarity and support of the CPSU and the entire Soviet people.

He wished the GDR communists success in their preparations for the forthcoming congress.

Taking part in the talks were E. Krenz, chairman of the GDR State Council, and GDR Foreign Minister O. Fischer.

### Talks With Ryzhkov

*PM0512121589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report under the general heading "Talks in the Kremlin"]

[Text] N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, had talks on 4 December with H. Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, who had come to Moscow in connection with the meeting of Warsaw Pact leaders.

The heads of government briefed each other on the progress of the processes of socialist renewal in the USSR and the GDR and made a positive assessment of the prospects for equal and mutually advantageous cooperation between the two countries, which will be improved in line with the new conditions of their socioeconomic development.

Questions of bilateral collaboration in 1990 and within the framework of the next 5-year period were touched on in practical terms. It was noted that the new stage of social development in both countries is making heightened demands on the qualitative side of cooperation and is making the transition to new forms of cooperation and the development of scientific, technical, and production cooperation more topical.

During a discussion of international issues, the adherence of both sides to the further development of the all-European process was stressed, as was their readiness to expand mutually advantageous good-neighborly cooperation with all countries, including the FRG, on the basis of unconditional respect for existing political and territorial realities with a view to strengthening international peace and security.

The talks, which were held in a comradely atmosphere, were attended by I.S. Silayev and S.A. Sitaryan, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; and G. Koenig, GDR ambassador to the USSR.

## CEMA Meets in MPR on Furniture, Light Industry

*LD0212152989 Moscow TASS in English 1449 GMT 2 Dec 89*

[Text] Ulaanbaatar December 2 TASS—The participants in the 53rd session of the permanent Commission of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) for Cooperation in Light Industry coordinated a programme for the joint action of CMEA member-states in the period ending in the year 2000. The programme covers the manufacture of the light and furniture-industry products.

The session, which ended here today, was attended by delegations from Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the German Democratic Republic, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia.

The programme seeks to meet more fully the requirements of the population of CMEA member-states for light industry products and furniture. Much attention was devoted to prospects for the large-scale participation of Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia in specialisation and co-production arrangements to master the achievements of modern science and technology.

The session also considered using these countries' resources to boost the export of finished products, semi-fabricated and other goods.

The other CMEA countries undertake to promote in every way the accelerated development and to raise the effectiveness of the economies of Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia through cooperation, taking into account the specific conditions of each country.

The production growth rates in light industry have slowed down over the past 15 years due to the scarcity of raw materials, it was pointed out at the session.

As a result, both raw and other materials, equipment and light industry products are now purchased in capitalist countries.

The programme is hoped to set a new stage for CMEA countries' cooperation in the comprehensive solution of the problems of the light and furniture industries.

Several directions for the realisation of the plan have been determined. In particular it was recognised as necessary to create economic conditions for mutually beneficial forms of cooperation between the CMEA countries concerned, primarily for the development of direct contacts between enterprises and the establishment of joint production units. These plans are designed to extend the range of light-industry products and furniture on the domestic market of each country.

## NATO, Warsaw Pact Meetings Examined

*LD0512140189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1143 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Moscow, 5 Dec, (TASS)—Vladimir Chernyshev, TASS observer on military issues, writes:

The special session of the NATO Council in Brussels and the meeting of the leaders of the Warsaw Pact member states in Moscow—which took place on the same day, 4 December—were the logical continuations of the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush off the coast of Malta and have given rise to great interest among the world public. So what are the results of the forums of the two military-political alliances?

It seems to me that the main thing is the unity with which, both in Moscow and in Brussels, they reached the conclusion that it is important to ensure a stability in Europe which not only inspires a feeling of security and confidence in all European states without exception, but also guarantees the future of pan-European structures which are coming into being and are therefore still fragile. A realistic approach has led the leaders of the countries of both blocs to the same conclusion: At the present stage of historical development, one should proceed from the retention of the North Atlantic Alliance and Warsaw Pact organizations for the foreseeable future, insofar as they can make a contribution to the consolidation of European security by acting as a bridge based on joint high-level responsibility.

Unanimity of this kind in analyzing the situation on the continent and in the corresponding practical conclusions is without doubt a new and extraordinary manifestation. Essentially, it is a consequence of the improvements in East-West relations taking place under the influence of the changes in the Warsaw Pact countries, and of the fact that the new political thinking is winning more and more ground, not just in the East but also in the West.

Of course, certain nuances remain in the Western leaders' stance. In particular, they have not yet fully accepted Mikhail Gorbachev's idea of restructuring both blocs, transforming them from military-political organizations into political alliances. In Moscow, stress was laid upon the importance of close interaction and the renewal under present-day conditions of the forms and methods of activity of the Warsaw Pact Organization. In Brussels, however, military tasks were given pride of place. Hardly anyone is going to dispute that the defense functions of the blocs will continue in the foreseeable future. But at the same time, the need for political tasks to be moved into the foreground, for the "politicization" of the alliances, is clearly dictated by time itself. Only that kind of approach can ensure movement toward the future "pan-European home."

## Commentary Views Warsaw Pact 4 Dec Meeting

*LD0512154889 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] As you may know from our reports, the Warsaw Treaty leaders had a meeting in Moscow on Monday. Mikhail Gorbachev briefed the Soviet allies on his informal talks with George Bush. Yuriy Solton of our staff comments on the occasion:

The assessment of the talks between the Soviet and American presidents was unanimous. They were seen as important and constructive, opening prospects for better security in Europe and lower levels of military confrontation. The Moscow meeting confirmed that the Warsaw Treaty countries, whatever the current internal changes, intend to act in Europe from an agreed position, keeping true to the commitments under the alliance.

This is a fit response to those who think that the days of the Warsaw Treaty are numbered. On the contrary, at the Moscow meeting there was talk of consolidating the alliance through a renewal in its forms and methods, in view of the changing situation in Europe. It's only realistic to proceed in the foreseeable future from the existence of the present blocs, Warsaw Treaty and NATO. But the functions of the alliances can hardly remain unchanged. They can be expected to proceed from military to political actions. They are already moving in that direction. The Warsaw Treaty countries follow the adopted defense doctrine, cutting their forces unilaterally and changing their structure.

After Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with George Bush there is a new hope to achieve as early as next year an agreement on substantial cuts in armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe. Other steps are also likely in the field of disarmament and confidence-building measures. The long period of the cold war is coming to an end. But progress in Europe is only possible in the framework of the Helsinki process, with the balance of interests of all nations of the continent, and respect for existing borders.

The Warsaw Treaty and NATO can both contribute to the European security if they show enough responsibility for destinies of Europe and the world, writes Yuriy Solton in conclusion.

## Outcome of NATO Sessions Reported

*PM0112153789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Dec 89 Second Edition p 6*

[Own correspondent Yu. Kharlanov report: "Cautiously Phrased"]

[Text] Brussels, 30 Nov—The sessions of the NATO military committees held in Brussels have gone virtually unnoticed even by the local press against the backdrop of the events currently taking place in Europe. In a brief commentary the newspaper LE SOIR wrote that the NATO generals were examining the question of how to adapt their military apparatus under the conditions of the political changes currently taking place. A number of session participants—specifically, G. Coeme, Belgian minister of national defense—raised the question of

possible military budget cuts. For its part, LE DRAPEAU ROUGE reports that U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney gave information on the program of Pentagon spending cuts that is under elaboration, insisting on the stabilization of the NATO allies' military budgets. It is planned that the United States will emphasize air and naval forces, while the European countries will develop conventional arms programs.

This time the communique adopted at the NATO Military Planning Committee session was cautiously phrased. It welcomes the changes taking place in the East European countries and the USSR, and expresses the hope that the Vienna conventional arms reduction talks will succeed. But at the same time it contains a paragraph warning the NATO countries against unilateral arms cuts and setting forth plans for the development of NATO's planned military programs.

It has been stated at NATO Headquarters that a special session of the NATO Council will be held in Brussels 4 December, during which G. Bush will talk about the results of his meeting with M.S. Gorbachev. It is planned that the NATO heads of state and government will take part in the session's work.

### 'Roundtable' Debates German Issue, Rome, Malta

*LD0412060189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 3 Dec 89*

["International Observers at the Roundtable" program, with Moderator Vsevolod Ivanovich Sovva, deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, and All-Union Radio foreign policy commentators Nikolay Ivanovich Agayants and Vladimir Georgiyevich Pasko—individual speakers not identified; each paragraph indicates a different speaker]

[Text] [Speaker] Hello, comrades. I assume that you are in no doubt as to the topic of our conversation today: Comrade Gorbachev's visit to Italy, to the Vatican, and the Soviet-U.S. meeting off Malta. Each of these events is unique. This is the first time that the head of the Soviet state has paid an official visit to Italy. This is the first time that he has met with the head of the Roman Catholic Church. This is the first time he has met George Bush as U.S. President. A novelty always attracts our attention but does not always determine the significance of an event. Increased attention was manifest in these visits and meetings not because they were taking place for the first time, but because the talks during these visits and meetings centered on questions that are currently of concern to each and every one of us, that is East-West relations. What do they involve? Above all the question of security, the question of the future of civilization. The whole spectrum of political, economic, and social problems which cannot be resolved on one's own without East-West cooperation. Take for instance, the problem of arms control.

[Speaker] If we are speaking specifically about us, in my view, it is necessary to stress the importance of the question of whether the West may try to exploit the situation taking shape in Eastern Europe to the detriment of our security, our allies' security, and how far the western thesis of the need to overcome European division accords with the demand of preserving the postwar borders. Can we, in the context of our internal development, expect further accords with the West with regard to the reduction of military confrontation? In effect people in the West are also asking a similar question with regard to their attitude to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. In general, they form the substance of the concept of East-West relations, which was the subject of the discussion during the current meetings. If we are talking about the meetings in Italy —as yet we do not, unfortunately, have any documents relating to the Malta meeting—they provide a great deal of information enabling us to understand both the sides' views of the contemporary situation and the oportunities which exist for progressing toward a more secure and calm world.

[Speaker] I think that it is right that these questions are being voiced today in our program. Naturally, there are attempts—these attempts have taken place on frequent occasions with our television and radio media—to interpret all the changes that are taking place in the world, in particular in Europe, in East Europe specifically as some sort of confirmation of the Western viewpoint of the development of these countries, in particular, the Bonn viewpoint. But, if we were to take a deeper look, I would like to quote Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's words of one year ago: The multifaceted nature of various countries' social development concerns both capitalist and socialist systems. The things that are now taking place virtually confirms this statement, especially since it is a question of quite normal phenomena linked with internal reforms in a number of countries confirming their socialist path of development.

[Speaker] Vsevolod Ivanovich, a word about the development that you have just been talking about.

[Speaker] I must point out that the approaches of both the West and the Soviet Union and socialist countries as a whole to those questions that have appeared on the agenda are now extremely similar. In this context, I would like to draw your attention to the joint Soviet-Italian declaration. in this document the sides enshrined their agreement on many key problems of world policy, including disarmament, environmental protection, development of economic cooperation, [words indistinct] including also the question about which we have just spoken. I state that a bold revision of domestic and foreign polciy is under way along with the strengthening of democratic changes in a number of countries. The sides stated that the principle of democracy must be present in every society just as respect for every people's sovereign right to choose their own path of development. Success of this process is in line with the universal interest that the curtain of East-West mistrust is demolished under the influence of these factors.

[Speaker] Quite correct. Freedom of choice is a universal principle and must have no exceptions even in this case. Denying a people's right to freedom of choice whatever the pretext and whatever words are used to conceal this involves striking at stability in the world, in particular in Europe.

[Speaker] Moving onto the view that was expressed in the declaration, an overall assessment of the situation in Europe. It is understandable. I believe that the sides here began to move toward overcoming unnatural division. It is quite feasible today to expect the birth in Europe and in the world of a common home for all CSCE countries. The main principle in building this home is enshrined in the Helsinki Final Act, documents of all subsequent European meetings. But at the same time, sides expressed the conviction that the situation of equilibrium on which the security of the European Continent is founded must be preserved. Any destablizing factor goes against all countries' striving for peace. One's own security cannot be achieved to the detriment of others' security. Equally, the sides are convinced that all people are competent to resolve their future independently, including the choice of their social and political system, its evolution, and the implementation of the requisite reforms.

[Speaker] This is extremely essential. We have already talked about this. Many people in the West, including in the higher echelons of power, are inclined to assess the reforms taking place in socialist countries as evidence of the collapse of socialism. Incorrect (?premises) lead to the (?wrong) conclusion about the impending collapse of the Warsaw Pact and the merging of the two German states.

[Speaker] You know, Vladimir Georgiyevich, not only conclusions, but also actions. Last week Chancellor Kohl submitted a plan in the Bundestag for the reunification of Germany, which constitutes precisely a list of demands, in fulfilling which the GDR may expect to be incorporated within the FRG. In the FRG, all the political parties, apart from the Greens, supported, in my view, strange plan. The same was also declared by the U.S. Department of State and NATO Secretary General Woerner.

[Speaker] But they forgot to ask the GDR.

[Speaker] Yes, indeed. Incidentally, people there are altogether nervous about amalgamation. A public opinion poll over the last few days showed that 83 percent of the GDR's inhabitants are in favor of the GDR developing under socialist conditions as an alternative to the FRG.

[Speaker] A united germany, GDR leader Krenz said, is not on the agenda. He was supported in this by a large group of representatives of the GDR's intelligentsia, including from the opposition, who delivered a special appeal this week.

[Speaker] Apart from this we must heed attentively competent and weighty voices of leaders of West European foreign policy, I mean specific representatives of specific countries. In particular, French Foreign Minister Dumas said that the Kohl proposal provides food for thought but does not provide grounds for (?subsequent) steps. We cannot fail to take into consideration interstate treaties, determining the existence of two—and I stress, two—German states. Also the position of the the countries guarantors of the current status of Germany. That is the USSR, the United States, France, and Britain. I would like to recall in this context that three Western powers have their own treaties with West Germany, including with regard to their troops which are on the latter's territory, and it is not all that simple to discuss the question of so-called reunification, which has now, clearly prematurely and at Bonn's wish, appeared on the agenda.

[Speaker] In the course of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to Italy, the sides achieved agreement that any destabilization in a single part of Europe threatens the whole continent.

[Speaker] That's right. EEC Chairman Delors, speaking on behalf of a united, Western Europe, as is well known, said that the GDR's citizens themselves must resolve the question of their future. There is no need for comment.

[Speaker] Speaking at Rome's Capitoline, Comrade Gorbachev very precisely outlined our assessment of the events taking place in Europe. That which is happening in East Europe is not the collapse of socialism, it is a departure from the administrative edict model of socialism. It is our profound conviction that socialism will acquire new opportunities to advance to its just and noble ideal. A serious policy is incompatible with anti-communist propaganda, since, without understanding of the essence of what is happening, there will be no progress to genuine period of peace. We must prevent clumsy behavior or provocative statements damaging the emergent real epoch-making turnaround.

[Speaker] [words indistinct] I would like to cite now words spoken from Rome to the whole world and all of Europe, words spoken by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev; Don't lag in perestroyka, gentlemen, in relations with the socialist world. The temptation to score points at the expense of another country is fraught with mutual losses. To be precise [words indistinct]....

[Speaker] Speaking about the Soviet-Italian talks, we cannot fail to mention the sides' positions on questions of arms control. There is a great deal of similarity here, too. The sides, for instance, are united in thinking that development of political relations must be accompanied by accelerated progress at the talks on nuclear, conventional, and chemical disarmament while strengthening universal security. Specifically, the sides confirmed that they will promote the attainment in 1990 of agreement at the Vienna talks on conventional arms.

[Speaker] As is well known, there are still many difficulties on this path. The talks clearly demand a new political boost. We advocate holding in the first half of next year a meeting of foreign ministers from countries involved in the talks. Moreover, we have time and again drawn the attention of our partners to resistance to the preservation under current conditions of the military doctrine inherited from the cold war, the doctrine of deterrence. It almost constitutes the most important obstacle to specific solutions at the talks. Of late admittedly some promising elements appeared here: In mid-January a seminar of experts from the 35 countries involved in the all-European process is due to take place in Vienna on military doctrine, moreover the delegations will be headed by chiefs of general staff. This has never happened before.

[Speaker] The West has hitherto even refused to discuss this problem.

[Speaker] You know, I would also dwell on another very important political development. I mean Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meeting with Pope John Paul II, head of the Roman Catholic Church.

[Speaker] In my view, the visit to the Vatican was primarily yet another result of our profound reassessment of our behavior inside the country and in the international arena. Our ties with the Vatican were broken way back in 1917. Like many other revolutions, including the French bourgeois revolution, we rejected religion. Now we are moving away from a simplistic view. it is well known that Marx assigned to the church an important compensatory role—the church functions wherever the state fails to do enough. The church in our country is separated from the state, but now we do not proceed only from the premise that faith is a matter for each and every one's conscience, in which nobody ought to interfere, but also from the premise that moral values which have for centuries been prompted by religion also serve universal human ideals.

[Speaker] We know that the Vatican engages in very vigorous international activity and has its representatives in many countries, (?official diplomatic) representatives, and evidently, as a result of the agreement that has been reached, some sort of representation of the Vatican as a state, and as the Roman Catholic Church, will also open in our country. (?Documents to this effect have already been signed.) This is why it is necessary to carefully study the Vatican's opinion in international politics.

[Speaker] This opinion, as is now very clearly shown by the statement by Pope John Paul II, evidently emphasizes that force and the threat of force cannot, and must not, be an instrument of foreign policy. Further world progress is now possible only through a quest for universal agreement for movement toward a new world order. These universal values are of great stabilizing and mobilizing importance for mankind.

[Speaker] During the soviet leader's meeting with Pope John Paul II, head of the Roman Catholic Church, there was talk about his visit to the Soviet Union. This will be an event for all believers and all nonbelievers alike. After all, the vatican is one of 35 states whose signature appears beneath the Helsinki final act. The Vatican, as a state, stands on realistic positions in support of the process of detente and establishment of cooperation in Europe. As parties to the Helsinki process, the Soviet Union and the Vatican, as far as possible within the limits of their potential and specific characteristics, strive to ensure that this process moves along at a normal pace, promotes the solution of all-European tasks, and creates a favorable foreign policy environment enabling peoples to exercise their own independent choice.

[Speaker] The Vatican has no more and no less than 800 million adherents. This represents a tremendous force.

[Speaker] [brief remark indistinct]

[Speaker] The Soviet-U.S. meeting, the unofficial summit meeting off Malta's shore, is due to end today. It is hard to overestimate this meeting's importance. The leaders of the two largest states are discussing questions which perturb both sides and the entire world. The way this discussion will progress, the extent to which the two countries' points of view on these problems are close to eath other, will largely determine world progress. Even before he sat around the negotiating table, President Bush, speaking on Maltese soil, described the meeting as historic and, moreover, (?without reservation) repeated this word twice. This is in itself noteworthy. The Americans' main approach [words indistinct] peace all over the world. It is only natural that each meeting is of global and fundamental importance for the elaboration of a concept for further movement, and I would like to recall the words spoken by Secretary of State Baker who, at a special briefing in Malta, said: We perceive relations between the United States and the USSR as an integral whole and we would not like to see any sphere in the relations lagging behind the spirit of cooperation which we are striving to establish. In other words, there are grounds to assume that a spirit of Malta will emerge now, an attitude that will be developed as a concept of subsequent events, of the next official meeting, and naturally of the entire and large (?and complex) talks which lie ahead on specific questions of disarmament, ecology, economic cooperation, and ordinary human contacts.

[Speaker] The world community is following the course of Soviet-U.S. dialogue with great attention, believing that all these talks, even unofficial ones, will make it possible to take a new, a qualitatively new step forward along the path toward solution of the most important problems facing mankind today. At this point, I would like to mention what I consider a curious sign of the fact that ordinary americans have adopted a more trusting attitude toward our country, the Soviet Union. This is shown in particular by the result of the latest opinion

poll conducted by the U.S. media general research service jointly with AP. The poll showed that the overwhelming majority of americans no longer believe that the Soviet Union is striving for world domination, as was the case until relatively quite recently, and this is virtually the first time ever since the cold war of sad memory that the number of people holding this opinion has passed the 50-percent mark to reach 57 percent. Those who still hold the opinion that the USSR is aggressive account for 35 percent.

[Speaker] So, what has influenced this improvement of Americans' attitudes toward our country?

[Speaker] The Soviet leader's great personal popularity in the United States. In the opinion of 41 percent of those polled, he is making more significant efforts to ease tension between East and West than U.S. President George Bush. By the way, the Soviet leader enjoys significantly greater popularity than the White House chief among Americans with a higher education. Gorbachev's activity was positively appraised by 85 percent of this category of persons polled, while a positive appraisal of Bush's activity was made by 65 percent.

[Speaker] Nikolay Ivanovich, you have cited some really impressive figures which are also very typical of the current situation. But it evidently ought to be borne in mind that, naturally, the standard stereotypes of the cold war period—[passage indistinct]—we must also take this fact into account. I would also like to cite the fact that just over 50 percent of Americans, according to that same poll, believe that the United States ought not to significantly reduce its military expenditure, even despite the incipient general easing of tension in East-West relations. This is why a debate has developed around the proposal made by Secretary of Defense Cheney regarding the possibility of reducing U.S. forces in Europe from a contingent of 320,000 to 100,000 [by the mid-1990's]. This proposal was not unanimously welcomed....

[Speaker, interrupting] Certainly....

[Speaker] It is the topic of very acute arguments not only in the United States itself, but also in NATO countries. Look no further than the budget discussions now taking place in the British parliament, for example.

[Speaker] At the same time, however, 56 percent of Americans who were polled declared their readiness to support such a step provided the process of reforms and democratization in socialist states continues.

[Speaker] The process of affirming new political thinking in international affairs, of the rejection of past stereotypes which set your teeth on edge, is unfortunately not advancing as fast and as quickly as we would like. It is important, however, that it is moving, and a confirmation of this can be seen in the ongoing summit dialogue between the USSR and the United States. Despite all the complications remaining in East-West relations, we can nonetheless be optimistic about the future. After all, the overall situation favors the retreat of the cold war (?period) in the past.

[Speaker] We all agree today that this process, and the all-European one primarily, is being accelerated. The task is unambiguous—it is necessary to move on from the present stage of international relations toward lasting peace. Great action is needed for this. The meeting in Malta will end today [words indistinct]. I would like to say that, as regards the voice of the socialist world, we won't have to wait all that long. A meeting of the Warsaw Pact countries will be held in Moscow in the next few days, and, naturally, all these questions will be raised with renewed vigor, especially since the socialist countries' opinion [words indistinct]. I would like to remind radio listeners that the bilateral important meeting within the framework of the all-European process will still be held this year—although the year is almost over. In the next few days our country will be visited by President Mitterrand of France who will meet Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in Kiev. The arrival of Mr Genscher, FRG vice chancellor and foreign minister, who plays an active role in European politics, is also on the agenda. Briefly speaking, there will be plenty to inform radio listeners about new steps in the stage-by-stage movement toward a common European order.

[Speaker] The most important point now is to maintain and deepen the Helsinki process, not to allow the destruction of its principles, to enrich it with new ideas—and this is a reciprocal process—otherwise the alignment which is so necessary may simply never happen.

[Speaker] Exactly so. I recall the time when the West produced an interpretation of the Helsinki Final Act whereby the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries should supposedly draw conclusions and behave in an exemplary fashion, taking into account every single letter and article. We have obviously learned the Helsinki Act well enough, and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's recent visit to Helsinki (?did not in any way disprove this)—namely we submitted proposals about holding a second meeting, Helsinki-2, in Helsinki in 1992. Now there is a further acceleration of the process, and if such a meeting were to take place 2 years earlier—I would not like to guess where, but Helsinki-2 obviously comes to mind—peace will be the sole winner.

[Speaker] Comrade Gorbachev's current visit to Italy was the Soviet leader's last foreign visit this year. All visits, if we were to look back on them, were associated with European affairs. This year can obviously be named the year of Europe, but judging by the proposals which were put forward by our leadership during these visits, the building of the all-European home will continue highly vigorously also next year. The building of the all-European home must not halt.

[Speaker] Comrades, I thank you sincerely for taking part in our meeting today, and wish you all the best.

## Changing NATO Views of Perestroyka Discussed

*PM0412104589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Dec 89 First Edition p 3*

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Observer Vasiliy Pustov article under the "World Today: Problems and Opinions" rubric: "Perestroyka and NATO"]

[Text] This phrase may seem somewhat unusual, but only at first glance. For the entire world community—peoples in the West, East, and South—both our friends and people in NATO who see us as their enemies and even consider us potential adversaries, is closely following the progress of perestroyka, including its foreign policy aspects. Notwithstanding the extremely disparate nature of the assessments, both sides acknowledge the truly revolutionary significance of the process that is taking place. This was noted quite accurately by L. Fabius, president of France's National Assembly: "The policy of perestroyka and glasnost is affecting all of East Europe and is radically changing the political context on our continent. These days we are experiencing historic events which are obviously the most important since the end of World War II."

These events rightly include the radical reforms in socialist countries. Whatever their difficulties, these processes of the renewal and improvement of socialism are having a favorable effect on the situation inside and outside the European Continent. Since they are promoting confidence-building, the strengthening of security, the development of mutually beneficial cooperation between Warsaw Pact and NATO countries, and the establishment of constructive contacts between the two military-political alliances.

M.S. Gorbachev's official visit to Italy, which ended the day before yesterday and received detailed coverage in our press, and his meeting with the U.S. President are being considered within the framework of precisely this process everywhere. The results of this meeting are a topic for separate thoroughgoing discussion and analysis. At present I will confine myself to reminding you that the world community reasonably links with this meeting the possibility of a further improvement in the world situation.

These hopes are not unfounded. Under the influence of the new political thinking which the USSR has brought into being and introduced into international relations, a number of NATO countries are definitely—although by no means to a sufficient extent as yet—beginning to change their approach to the resolution of pressing world problems. You cannot, of course, describe this as perestroyka, whose implementation, incidentally, the progressive community and sober-minded political circles in the West are demanding with increasing insistence. Nonetheless one can glimpse signs of the bloc beginning to revise its positions. This was shown, for instance, by the fall "Atlantic marathon." In the documents adopted at the sessions of NATO leading organs this week—the European Group, the Military Committee, and the Military Planning Group—the historic nature of the processes taking place in socialist countries, along with their effect on East-West relations and on the establishment of a more lasting peace in Europe, was effectively acknowledged for the first time. The progress made at the Vienna talks on conventional forces in Europe and the "largely constructive and positive stance" adopted by the Warsaw Pact states were noted with satisfaction. Incidentally, the NATO military doctrine inherited from the "cold war" which envisages the use of nuclear weapons is almost the main obstacle to adopting concrete decisions at these talks.

I would also describe some processes taking place in NATO countries as positive. Thus the West German press is beginning to vigorously discuss the question of cutting Bundeswehr personnel. It is worthy of note that military leader Flotilla Admiral E. Schmelling put forward the proposal to cut the Bundeswehr by 100,000 men (at present it numbers almost 500,000). He justifies this step by the positive transformations taking place in the Warsaw Pact countries.

Similar debates are also developing in the United States. THE WASHINGTON POST points out that Pentagon leaders unexpectedly discovered that they cannot justify today the existence of Armed Forces costing $300 billion a year.

However, aspects of the current activity pursued by NATO and leading bloc powers which appear clearly anachronistic—particularly against the backdrop of the obvious improvement in the international climate—arrest our attention, so to speak. This is illustrated by the quite different aims of the fall "marathon." Leading NATO bodies once again advocated retaining the "deterrence strategy," presenting it as a "condition for constructive dialogue" with the Warsaw Pact. It was claimed once again that the presence of U.S. nuclear and conventional forces in Europe "is vitally necessary for ensuring security on the continent." The communique from the session of the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee held at this time stresses that the development of the situation on the European Continent urgently requires the beginning of talks on reducing and then eliminating tactical nuclear weapons.

Nor does the fact that U.S. and other NATO countries' military budgets and their armed forces' development programs are still targeted toward preserving military might as the main means of attaining their foreign policy aims inspire optimism. Thus U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney once again stressed in an interview with the LOS ANGELES TIMES that the U.S. Administration's main priorities in the sphere of military building must be to maintain its superiority in naval forces and modernize strategic nuclear arms. The dogged refusal on the part of the United States and NATO to initiate talks on such a highly important component of their armed forces as naval forces cannot fail to alarm us. Because this casts

doubt on and even endangers a great deal of what has been achieved in the sphere of arms limitation as a result of difficult long talks.

At a time when the United States is strengthening its Navy and Air Force its allies, the Pentagon chief notes, must focus their attention on "surface-based combat operations." In this connection how can we fail to draw attention to a NEW YORK TIMES report that of late U.S. intelligence, as during the gloomy "cold war" years, has been engaged in determining how long it would take the United States "to forestall a full-scale Soviet offensive in Europe."

Specific preparations which cannot be described as anything but militaristic are also continuing. At NATO Headquarters in Brussels it was announced that the program for transferring the 401st USAF Wing from Spain to Italy (72 nuclear-capable F-16 fighter bombers) "is proceeding normally." They are sited at a base at Crotone. In the event of a crisis, provision has been made for them to be dispersed to other bases where there are nuclear weapons dumps.

In addition there is the question of transferring U.S. nuclear-capable aircraft to the British Isles. It is a matter, in particular, of F-15E fighters, which are the subject of talks. In anticipation of the results of these talks, the U.S. Strategic Air Command has obtained authorization to site seven B-52G bombers at Fairford Air Base (Gloucestershire) in order to take part in major exercises scheduled for next year.

The British public's concern over these facts became even stronger owing to a recent revelation by Defense Secretary T. King: "We are considering every possible option open to us since the conclusion of the Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles." By way of compensation for the U.S. cruise missiles which are being destroyed, official London is striving not only to build up its remaining nuclear arms in Europe, but also to "modernize" them. Fighting for this during her recent trip to Washington, Prime Minister M. Thatcher, according to THE SUNDAY TIMES, seemed "to be lagging helplessly behind the level of East-West relations."

At the current transitional stage in international development it is becoming increasingly obvious that the way to stable peace and mutual security lies through substantial changes not only in the East, but also in the West. These changes must be effected above all on the basis of renunciation of the habitual outmoded stereotypes, observance of balance of interests, and respect for peoples' freedom to choose their means of development.

The meeting off Malta between the USSR and U.S. leaders, on which the attention of the world community is riveted, ends today. A meeting of Warsaw Pact leaders where M.S. Gorbachev will inform the allied countries' representatives of the results of his talks with G. Bush will be held at the beginning of December. In turn the U.S. President will talk about the results of his meeting with M.S. Gorbachev at a special session of the NATO Council in Brussels 4 December.

Thus, in the near future it will presumably become clear to some extent how feasible people's hopes are that mankind will succeed in freeing the world of threats, fear, and violence in the nineties, by advancing along the path of restructuring international relations on the basis of new peacemaking principles. A great deal depends on whether NATO will in fact join this historic process.

## Socialist International Policy on E. Europe Noted

*PM3011153389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 89 Morning Edition p3*

[Own correspondent Yu. Kosinskiy dispatch under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Strong Support for Restructuring"]

[Text] Geneva—A 2-day session of the Socialist International Council—the leading body of the oldest political association in the world, founded in 1964 [date as published; First International founded 1864] and representing 89 parties and organizations which have the support of more than 150 million people—has come to a close in Geneva.

Assessing the results of the council's work, which took place behind closed doors, Willy Brandt described them as highly productive when addressing journalists at a press conference. He explained that the session participants had discussed the Socialist International's work in various parts of the world and approved a number of resolutions reflecting the Socialist International's stance on the most important and serious international problems, including the problem of disarmament. The detailed Socialist International document approved at the council session, made available to journalists, and also the resolution on disarmament underline the possibility of a positive contribution to the further development of the process at the forthcoming Bush-Gorbachev meeting. W. Brandt drew the press representatives' attention to the fact that the world disarmament process is closely tied up with the Socialist International [as published] and linked to the prospect of using part of the resources thus freed for development needs and the solution of Third World countries' economic problems.

The document drafted by the Socialist International Council reflects the results of the discussions by the participants in the Geneva session on the central item on the agenda: Assessment of the evolution of the situation in Eastern Europe. The Socialist International confirms its support for all efforts oriented toward democratic changes and liberalization in socialist countries, welcomes the development of the democratic market mechanism and the struggle against corruption and bureaucracy in these countries, and assesses respect for human rights and growing political openness as an important element of a dynamic, progressive society. "We sincerely hope," the Socialist International document says, "that

the changes initiated by Gorbachev will continue successfully." Noting that one of the most vital needs of socialist European countries is to resolve their economic problems first and foremost, the authors of the document recommend to Socialist International party members that they build their policy toward East European countries on the basis of the following principles: Give immediate aid if needed; help to resolve the problem of foreign debt; coordinate assistance to renew the infrastructure, particularly transport; coordinate and maintain efforts to combat the threat to the environment; allocate private and state credit to develop trade and industry; help to ensure the rapid transfer of progressive technology and knowledge in the management sphere; open up the markets of developed West European countries to goods from socialist states following the path of democratization; and give assistance in vocational training. "The Socialist International," the document stresses, "recognizes the historic nature of the present changes taking place in Eastern Europe and is using every means to show its insight and play a constructive role in these events."

## United States & Canada

### Officials, Media React to Bush, Gorbachev Talks

#### Bush on Malta Meeting Results

*LD0612110189 Moscow TASS in English 1042 GMT 6 Dec 89*

[Text] Washington December 6 TASS—"I look at Malta as a hopeful step in a new relationship, the first step in the next decade." U.S. President George Bush said addressing a function sponsored by the National Republican Congressional Committee on Tuesday.

"Whatever the weather in Malta," he noted, "I can tell you the weather inside was relaxed. There were some moments when we would disagree on things. Clearly, that is what those kinds of meetings are about, I guess.

"But I was able to talk in a straightforward manner with Mr. Gorbachev with no rancor. I think we did establish good lines of communication and I think in an era of rapid change—and we certainly are living in that—it is important that we have good lines of communication."

"There is no question that progress was made in Malta," Bush stressed. "It was not a meeting where we were going there to cross the t's and dot the i's on some kind of arms control agreement. But progress was made.

"I think in a sense we've got an agenda out there now. An agenda that if we can fulfill it and follow through on it will strengthen the peace and provide a solid base for future advances."

Brent Scowcroft, assistant to the President for national security affairs, told journalists that President Bush was very satisfied with the results of the Soviet-American meeting. According to a White House report, the results of the Malta meeting were discussed by the U.S. cabinet on Tuesday.

#### PRAVDA on Bush, Gorbachev Remarks

*PM0512112589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Dec 89 Second Edition pp 1, 2*

[TASS report: "M.S. Gorbachev and G. Bush Answer Journalists' Questions"; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] As already reported, at the end of the interim unofficial meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and U.S. President G. Bush on board the Soviet motor ship "Maksim Gorkiy" the two countries' leaders held a joint press conference. The opening statements by M.S. Gorbachev and G. Bush have been published. Their answers to journalists' questions are printed below.

Question: President Gorbachev, President Bush called on you to put an end to the "cold war" once and for all. Do you reckon that this has now been done?

M.S. Gorbachev: First of all I assured the U.S. President that the Soviet Union will never begin a "hot" war against the United States. We want to ensure that relations between our countries develop in such a way that they open up broader opportunities for cooperation. Naturally, we had a very extensive discussion with the President and sought an answer to the question of where we are now. We both noted that the world is moving leaving one era—the "cold war"—and entering a new one. Admittedly, this is still only the beginning, we are at the very beginning of the road of a long period of peace. From this we concluded for ourselves—and we were unanimous in this—that such states as the United States and the Soviet Union bear a special responsibility. Naturally we had quite a lengthy discussion regarding the fact that the new era also requires new approaches. We must resolutely renounce much that was created in the "cold war" period, above all the gamble on force, confrontation, the arms race, mistrust, and psychological and ideological skirmishes. They must all become a thing of the past.

Question: President Gorbachev, what "hot spots" did you discuss? Did you discuss El Salvador? Could you assure President Bush that the Soviet Union is using its influence on either Cuba or Nicaragua to stop arms shipments? And, President Bush, were you satisfied with President Gorbachev's answer?

M.S. Gorbachev: This topic was discussed in detail. We confirmed once again to the President that we have stopped and are not supplying weapons to Central America. We confirmed that we sympathize with the political process under way there to settle the situation. We are in favor of free elections with the participation of UN representatives and representatives of other Latin American states to determine the future of Nicaragua. We understand the United States' concern and grasped Mr President's arguments on this score, but we assured him that we confirm our principled line of finding a political settlement to the situation in Central America. I do not want to reveal everything that was said on this topic now, but, summing up, I want to answer as follows—there are opportunities to ensure that peace and calm come to this region in the interests of the peoples of this region above all, which does not, I believe, contravene U.S. interests.

G. Bush: My answer is as follows: As President Gorbachev said, we discussed these questions in depth. I will not be satisfied until there is complete self-determination by means of verifiable free elections in Nicaragua. The chairman gave me every opportunity to talk in detail about everything that worries me about the situation in this region. He talked about what worries him, and I cannot say that there are no differences of opinion between us. But we had an opportunity to discuss them. If differences still remain, I would like to think that there are fewer of them. But, as you know—everyone who is here from the United States—we are concerned to ensure that the Nicaraguans hold truly free elections and do not export revolution to El Salvador.

We held a long discussion of a broad range of questions and I would simply say: I got the feeling that much better mutual understanding was established between the sides as a result of this discussion.

Question: A question from IZVESTIYA for President Bush—and if Comrade Gorbachev has any comments to make, we would welcome them. The problem of expanding economic contacts between the United States and the Soviet Union is one of long standing. This is a very acute problem. To what extent was this question discussed during your meeting and what is your administration's stance, Mr President, on expanding economic cooperation?

G. Bush: We discussed economic questions at length. We voiced some concrete opinions as to how we can cooperate more closely with the Soviet Union on the economic front. We made some specific proposals, in particular, with regard to granting the USSR observer status at GATT. I believe that one of the most fruitful parts of our conversation related to the economy. I would like an atmosphere to be created in which U.S. businessmen can help out in what Chairman Gorbachev is trying to do by means of reform and, obviously, thanks to glasnost.

I believe that a favorable atmosphere has been created as a result of these talks for capital investment in the Soviet Union and for certain measures that we may adopt to help the Soviet Union and also, effectively, other countries, to help them find common ground with multilateral financial organizations. All this is a big plus. On my own account, I consider this an extremely big plus.

M.S. Gorbachev: I want to comment on the President's answer to this question. First I will confirm what Mr President said. Second. What took place at this meeting can perhaps be regarded as the political impetus that was lacking in order for our cooperation, economic cooperation, to gain momentum and acquire forms and scope commensurate with our potential and the time. Naturally, how this process goes will depend to a considerable extent on how the Soviet side acts and what economic and legal preconditions are created for this. But you know that we are now engaged among other things in ensuring that the Soviet economy turns resolutely toward relations and cooperation with other countries and becomes an organic part of the world economic system. Thus we think and hope that what happened at this meeting on this point of the agenda is of fundamental importance.

Question: How did you discuss the conflict in Lebanon?

M.S. Gorbachev: We could not overlook this conflict since, as I understand it, both the Soviet and U.S. peoples perceive the pain, difficulties, and ordeals suffered by the Lebanese people and sympathize with them. We shared information, views, and assessments on this subject and agreed to maintain an exchange of opinions. Each side according to its opportunities—admittedly, President Bush believed that we have greater opportunities but I believed that we have equal opportunities—will help ensure that this conflict is resolved successfully.

G. Bush: Like President Gorbachev, we are striving for a peaceful resolution of questions concerning Lebanon. We support the trilateral agreement. We want the killings in Lebanon to stop. Chairman Gorbachev agrees with us. We have no differences on this question. The question of Lebanon was discussed in detail and we would like a return to a peaceful, democratic Lebanon. I believe that everyone in the United States shares my feeling of regret over the difficult times in Lebanon, but we intend to try to help with all the means at our disposal.

Question from PRAVDA for President G. Bush: This is the first time that you have taken part in a summit meeting as U.S. President, but you were vice president in the previous administration and were involved in shaping foreign policy. What is your opinion of the path that our two countries have covered from Geneva to Malta?

G. Bush: That is an easy question since I do indeed believe that relations are definitely improving. There is tremendous support in our country for what Chairman Gorbachev is doing in the Soviet Union. His defense of peaceful changes in Europe has won him tremendous respect and support. It proved possible to achieve everything I had hoped at this meeting. The meeting had no precise agenda, however, as Chairman Gorbachev said, we discussed very many questions. If relations can be improved at such meetings, this meeting promoted this.

Question: President Gorbachev, did you reach real understanding regarding a timeframe for the completion of talks on chemical weapons, nuclear weapons, and conventional arms?

M.S. Gorbachev: Yes, you know, we spent a lot of time discussing specific issues linked with disarmament talks—on various categories of weapons. And, to illustrate that it was a specific discussion, I would like to say that our foreign ministers, who have been instructed to do the necessary specific work to bring our positions closer together, will be meeting in the near future. In connection with the fact that Mr President put forward interesting new proposals on chemical weapons—which, while maintaining the goal of a global ban, also envisage certain elements, stages, and moves toward this global ban—an opportunity has emerged to move ahead very quickly in this area. As for strategic offensive weapons, analysis of the situation and the instructions given to prepare this treaty show that by the second half of June—and we have agreed to hold an official meeting at that time—we will obviously be able to do the necessary work and to agree on the main points of the treaty, which could later, in the next few months, be prepared for signing. So I make a high assessment of what has happened here in this direction.

I can only say that there are issues which, of course, will require detailed discussion in order to remove the concerns of both sides. If we are talking about our concerns, these are primarily linked—as regards strategic offensive weapons and preparations for a treaty on 50-percent cuts in such weapons—with the problem of sea-launched cruise missiles. Well, in general we put it to the President that when there is progress in all areas—cuts in nuclear weapons and conventional arms and forces—and when we are switching to a defensive doctrine, we, the Soviet Union, express our interest in corresponding renewals occurring within NATO military doctrines. And we think that the time has come to start talking about naval forces and discussing this problem. In general I just want to say—and the President, I think, will confirm this—that these were very thorough talks which give us hope. I think that we can count on success.

Question from Portuguese TV: President Gorbachev, could you say why you were so cautious at the start of the talks?...

M.S. Gorbachev: You know, the fact that on the eve of the meeting both sides displayed restraint and a considered approach—again I would say caution—by no means indicated that we were being pessimistic. I think that it indicated above all that we were being responsible. Now that the meeting is over and the President and I are briefly summing up its results, I can say that I am optimistic about the results and about the prospects they open up. Such is dialectics.

Question: I would like to return to the question of naval forces which was just raised by President Gorbachev. Could you, Mr Bush, tell us your position and what exactly you said to President Gorbachev about your attitude toward naval force cuts and NATO's attitude toward this issue. And do you not think that if the Soviet Union is indeed prepared to switch to a defensive doctrine that the time has come to think about cuts in this area, too?

G. Bush: The meeting was not devoted to arms control in the sense that we did not try to resolve everything in detail. We still have our differences with the Soviet Union. This applies to naval forces—Mr Gorbachev knows that, and I know it. But the point is that we can discuss these issues in a very constructive atmosphere. And Chairman Gorbachev knows that I could not conclude an arms control agreement at this meeting, and I do not tend to think that this is a field in which we will achieve immediate progress. But we discussed a wide range of problems, although we did not reach any specific consensus on the question of naval arms control. He knows that and so do I. He had an opportunity to let me know how important this is, and I—as a representative of an alliance—have an opportunity to discuss a wide range of armaments and disarmament issues with our allies. This is just the atmosphere for the meeting that I imagined, that we imagined. At such meetings we can discuss problems on which we have had our differences for many years and try to find a route toward rapprochement. In certain important areas we have brought our positions closer together. Certain differences remain. We have not reached full agreement.

Question: Did you discuss the Soviet proposal for a second Helsinki meeting? Are you prepared along with the Soviet Union to put forward an initiative to resolve the Near East crisis?

M.S. Gorbachev: Well, the first question was about Helsinki-2. At the meeting I think we showed our fundamental understanding of the importance of the Helsinki process, reaffirmed our commitment to it, and noted the positive results of the process—results which have now made it possible to implement profound changes in Europe and the world, since Europe, for well known reasons, exerts an enormous influence on the world. The President and I advocated that the Helsinki process develop in line with the new demands dictated by the time, in order to build a new Europe on the basis of the changes bringing European countries closer together. We reaffirmed that this is a common cause for all European signatories to the Helsinki Final Act, including the Vatican, and, of course—and, incidentally, the realization of this was present whenever talk turned to Europe, and not just Europe—with the active and constructive participation of the United States and Canada.

So, we advocated that this process gather strength, gain its "second wind," I would say. And at this stage the transformation of institutions which emerged on the basis of the Helsinki process should proceed in such a fashion that their nature changes in unison with the changes under way. If we are talking about NATO and the Warsaw Pact, they should probably become not so much military organizations as military-political and then political instruments. And thus their nature would change in line with the changing situation on the continent. In just the same way we would clearly be entitled to expect that relations between the European "Common Market" and CEMA would change on the basis of greater openness toward each other and, naturally, with the active participation once again of the United States in these economic processes. At any rate, we think that the time has come for us to act in a considered fashion, step by step, taking account of the challenges of the times—but not impulsively or irresponsibly, to the detriment of stability and security. On the contrary—we should act so as to improve the atmosphere, the situation, and mutual relations, and to strengthen stability and security. That was the tenor of our discussion.

Question: Was the problem of cutting the sides' military presence in the Mediterranean discussed at your meeting?

G. Bush: As far as cuts are concerned, we did not discuss specific figures. Chairman Gorbachev raised the question of naval arms control, and I was not very positive in my replies to questions about such controls. However,

we agreed that we want to move forward and complete the talks on conventional forces in Europe, which concern Italy and other countries in the sense that they are part—a large part—of our NATO alliance. We did not reach agreements or dot all the "i's" on some of these problems. But we weren't trying to do so.

Joint initiatives are not needed to solve Near East issues, but we reached the conclusion that the Soviet Union plays a constructive role in Lebanon and is trying throughout the Near East to support the tripartite agreement, which is also clearly supported by the United States. There are points of contact on this question. This has not always been the case throughout history. Perhaps the United States has not always taken the proper view of how constructive a role the Soviet Union can play. But I can tell you—after these talks and after the talks between J. Baker and E. Shevardnadze—that the Soviet Union is playing a constructive role. I am referring once again to the tripartite agreement. I am sure that after these talks they share our view as regards a peaceful resolution of the problems of the Near East—be it Lebanon or the West Bank problem. I do not think that we have major differences in this area.

M.S. Gorbachev: All I can add to what President Bush said is that we discussed this subject quite thoroughly. We have in fact merely discussed it. I believe that we understand that we must utilize our opportunities, either acting independently or cooperating, in order to facilitate the resolution of the problems. And a settlement of this old, protracted conflict which has an adverse effect on the whole world situation. We agreed, I believe, that, as a result of what the sides have gone through, we have approached a point where there is a real opportunity to take the crucial step to open up a settlement process. It is important not to miss this opportunity. Situations change rapidly and we believe that we will make our contribution to this.

Question: President Gorbachev, did you assure President Bush that the changes in East Europe are irreversible and that the Soviet Union has renounced the right to military interference there? President Bush, as a result of this meeting, do you trust that the Soviet Union has indeed renounced the "Brezhnev doctrine"?

M.S. Gorbachev: I would not like to be seen or perceived as the plenipotentiary representative of all the states of East Europe. That would not accord with realities. Certainly, we form part of East Europe, part of Europe, we cooperate with our allies in all spheres, and our ties are deep. But every country is an independent entity in world politics and each people are entitled to decide—and do decide—their state's future. I can only voice my own attitude. I believe that these changes—both in the Soviet Union and in the countries of East Europe—are objectively prepared by the very course of the historical process. No one can avoid it. These are urgent problems and must be resolved by new methods, by relying on the experience and potential accumulated in these states and revealing opportunities for utilizing all the positive elements in human civilization. I believe that we must welcome the thrust of these processes since they are linked with the peoples' desire to humanize these societies, impart a more democratic character to them, and open up to the rest of the world.

Thus, I am inspired by the thrust of these processes and I believe that other peoples perceive and duly appreciate this. Naturally, I also see that processes of change—and profound processes at that—are also under way in Western countries, including West European countries, and this is also very important. Thus a countermovement is forming, as it were, drawing the peoples and states of these continents together in a process where each people preserve their own originality and commitment to their own values and choices. That is very important. And it is very important for us all to understand that.

G. Bush: Since President Gorbachev is talking about democratic and peaceful changes, that indisputably signifies a renunciation of the previous doctrines, which may have assumed a different approach. He knows that not only the President but also the entire American people would like this process of peaceful democratic evolution to continue. I believe that this is the best answer to the question since the changes are so dramatic and so obvious to people.

But I will say that we had every opportunity to discuss this question in much more detail than I consider appropriate to discuss here at the press conference.

Question: President Bush, did you accuse the Soviet Union of supplying weapons to El Salvador and Central America? President Gorbachev, did you deny these charges? Can you, sitting here, say which of you is right?

G. Bush: I should probably be the first to answer this question. I do not believe that we accused the Soviet Union of this. We asserted that weapons are going there in such a way and that cannot satisfy us. I believe that Nicaragua not only connives at this but also facilitates it. There is graphic evidence of this. But I am not casting doubt on the Soviet foreign minister's statement. He talked about this with J. Baker and I discussed this with President Gorbachev. I only know—he said this earlier—that we must strive for free elections.

M.S. Gorbachev: The President has correctly highlighted the discussion of this question. No charges were leveled against us and we did not have to admit or refute them. We told the President that we have assurances, firm assurances, from Nicaragua that there have been no shipments using the well known aircraft. President Bush did not agree with this, we also heard this out. But nevertheless our principled line—I spoke of this and President Bush confirmed it here—is that we favor free elections and advocate that this conflict be ended by political methods and the situation there be normalized.

G. Bush: This is exactly what we agreed.

Question: What could you say about Oscar Arias' accusations against Cuba?

G. Bush: I remain convinced that weapons are being supplied to El Salvador. We saw clear proof of this, but I cannot dispute the specific presentation, based on facts, which was made here. A difference emerged between us. I believe that the Sandinistas have not told our Soviet friends the truth. Why do I believe this? Because we know precisely: Weapons are being supplied there. I do not claim that these are Soviet weapons—the Soviet side declared that it is not supplying weapons and I believe this. But weapons are being supplied there, and I declare that Mr Shevardnadze was misled when a specific statement was made that no weapons are being supplied from Nicaragua to El Salvador. Thus, we have certain differences in the way we perceive this specific question. The best way to eliminate these differences is by holding monitored free elections in Nicaragua. As far as Castro is concerned, I have absolutely no influence on him. Maybe you should ask this question of President Gorbachev. As you can see, we have certain differences in different parts of the globe.

Question: President Gorbachev, what could you say about President Arias' accusations against Cuba?

M.S. Gorbachev: We discussed the situation in Latin America, in Central America, and expressed our evaluations. On the basis of our analysis and evaluation, I told the President that conditions are ripening for an improvement in the situation. The different sides have a desire to bring this acute period to an end and to normalize relations not only in the region but also with the United States.

Question: How do you appraise the situation in Germany?

M.S. Gorbachev: Would you, Mr President, like to begin the answer to this question?

G. Bush: The United States, being a member of NATO, sticks to its long-standing position. Provisions about permanent borders were laid down in Helsinki. I clearly indicated to President Gorbachev that, for our part, we do not wish to do anything unrealistic, anything that might make any country ultimately move backwards, anything that would result in its own people being involved in a military conflict, a conflict between countries.

Therefore it seems to me that we tried to act "with caution," to use the word President Gorbachev used. We believe that there is no need to stage demonstrations on the Berlin Wall to show how happy we are with the change that has taken place. We really are happy that this change has taken place. I have heard statements by many leaders on the German question, and I do not think that the role of the United States is to dictate the pace of change in any country. This must be determined by that country's people themselves.

This is our position. And in conclusion, Mr Chairman, you have the floor on this question.

M.S. Gorbachev: Yes, this is how we ended the talks: The President wrote to me in English, but I cannot read English; I replied in Russian, but he cannot read Russian. (Animation.) But we agreed. I shall be brief, since I have already answered this question on several occasions in the last few days. The President and I discussed it, we exchanged opinions, and we really are looking at things from the positions of the Helsinki process, which, as a matter of fact, summed up the results of World War II and consolidated the realities which emerged here. I think that this is the most correct policy—to strictly adhere to realities. And the reality is that there are two German states in Europe today, the FRG and the GDR, members of the United Nations and modern states. This is what history has decreed. Indeed, in order to remain realists, we ought to assume that history will decree the destiny and the processes occurring in the continent as a whole and will also determine the position and role of these two states. I think that this is everybody's understanding now. And any artificial nudging of this process would only complicate the entire tremendously important turnaround that is taking place in the development of European states, and this means in the hub of world politics. And I think that artificial nudging would not be in the interests of the peoples of these two German states.

We can thank the press for its cooperation, even though we do not yet know everything that they have written. (Laughter.) Or will write.

G. Bush: It does not matter.

M.S. Gorbachev: No, I thought of thanking them in advance, and maybe then they'll write better. (Laughter.) I would like to thank you, Mr President, for your cooperation.

G. Bush: Do you intend to reserve the right to thank them afterwards? (Laughter.) After what they'll write? Actually, we really must be going. Should we each take one more question—or not? Fine. One last question.

Question: What are your personal relations like now, and will there be regular contacts which maybe will no longer be described as summit meetings?

G. Bush: I met President Gorbachev earlier. I will let him answer for himself, but I think that we have established good personal relations. And I believe that this helps each side to express itself frankly, to point out the differences as well as the spheres where we agree. This, it seems to me, is a very, very important element of our policy, bearing in mind the two powers' status and bearing in mind the dramatic changes now taking place. I don't mean that he will change his policy just because he feels sympathetic toward me. And I don't mean that we shall start changing our policy because I feel sympathetic toward him.

But here we have managed to meet and discuss differences without any bitter aftertaste and as frankly as possible. And I do believe that this discussion was highly constructive. Thus I could not have wished for a better result for this summit meeting which was not a summit meeting in the full sense of the word. (Laughter.)

You asked about regular meetings. I am prepared to meet him as often as required to advance matters. We have already scheduled a summit meeting. This meeting will be devoted to arms control. This is good, since I pointed out to him that we want to reach agreement on strategic offensive arms, an agreement on the reduction of conventional forces in Europe, and—if we can manage it—an agreement on chemical weapons. This is a far-reaching agenda. But I think that, had we not met here and had we not had this conversation, we would not have understood each other's point of view on these important questions.

M.S. Gorbachev: I would like to confirm what Mr President said—that we have actually known each other personally for quite some time now. I can only add that maybe—naturally, I did not agree on this with the President but I don't think that I'll be revealing any major secret—that we have already had thorough exchanges of opinions in the course of past contacts and, generally speaking, we already had an overall idea of each other's positions. Furthermore, we have corresponded. Today's meeting, this meeting, takes our personal contacts to a new level. I am pleased with the meetings we have had, with the conversations, including the two one-on-one conversations. I, like the President, believe that personal contacts are a very important element in relations between political leaders, especially of states like the Soviet Union and the United States. I believe in personal ties although, as the President correctly said, this does not mean that we can sacrifice our positions for the sake of personal ties. We do not forget responsibilities, no. I think that personal contacts simply enable us to better meet our pledges and our responsibility and better collaborate. Better collaboration is in the interests of our two peoples and in the interests of the entire world community. I express thanks for this meeting, and I thank the President for his cooperation in, figuratively speaking, a very important joint Soviet-U.S. political venture whose capital is split, as the saying goes, "50-50."

G. Bush: Thank you, sir.

## New Soviet Behavioral Trait Seen

*LD0512135689 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Mikhail Mayorov commentary]

[Text] In a better environment, the 8-hour long superpower summit mid raging seas off Malta could have focused entirely on Europe, disarmament, and bilateral relations. But there were other issues at hand. The tone was set by the U.S. Administration, which had blamed Moscow weeks before the summit began for the flare-up of bloodshed in El Salvador and protracted conflict in Afghanistan. Commentary by Mikhail Mayorovi:

Apart from the negotiating teams, it is anyone's guess which way exactly the questions were formulated at the talks aboard the Soviet liner Maksim Gorkiy, but the number of speculations and unverified theories are plentiful. One American source maintains that President Bush accused Moscow of lack of new thinking because of its alleged arms supply to Salvadorean rebels.

Away from the substance of Mr Bush's arguments it must be said he'd run the risk of facing a much stronger counter argument. What had happened just a few days before the informal meeting off Malta could have shattered all Washington's allegations that the Soviet Union was fuelling regional conflicts. A CIA-run aircraft ferrying weapons to the antigovernment UNITA [National Union for Total Independence of Angola] group had crashed while on a flight from Zaire to Angola. Until more recently this could have sparked off a major international scandal, and the Soviet media might have tried to blow it out of proportion. The incident was mentioned, but by way of passing, and the chance of fuelling anti-American emotions was let go amiss.

The question is one of the new traits in the Soviet Union's behavior, rather than of its blunder. But that is not to say it approves of meddling in other country's affairs. It would be hard to say if President Gorbachev had used the Angolan incident to parry off Mr Bush's statement—I'd rather he hadn't—but what he told the news conference after the summit is there: On the flare-up of flights [as heard] in El Salvador, the Soviet leader said his country has ceased arms supplies to that area of conflict, favoring instead a negotiated settlement to Central American issues.

The talks were substantive and, it is to be hoped, constructive, which could be explained to a large extent by the parties' reluctance to exchange propaganda salvos, although the chance of one side being cornered long before the summit was there. The summit set a good example of the spirit in which international issues must be discussed. The name of it is now political thinking—a political jargon which is increasingly accepted by the United States, albeit not as readily as perestroyka and glasnost for the time being.

## Academic Rogov Analyzes Meeting

*LD0512235389 Moscow International Service in Polish 1400 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] On 3 December a 2-day unofficial meeting between Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and the U.S. President George Bush came to an end. As we all know, the meeting took place off Malta. We met Doctor of Historical Sciences Sergey Rogov, head of department at the United States and Canada Institute, part of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and asked him to comment the results of the meeting.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] The meeting which took place at the end of last week was the 15th meeting between Soviet and U.S. leaders during the last 4 decades. Nevertheless, it could be described as unprecedented, since this was the first time that such a meeting took place without an agenda. What results could you single out?

[Rogov speaking in Russian with superimposed Polish translation] The main thing about this meeting was that it showed that the cold war between the USSR and the United States is coming to an end. Throughout the postwar period, since 1945, the world has existed on the basis of the rules of two diametrically-opposed systems, while the policies of every country depended on its attitude toward the USSR or the United States. Now we are witnessing the approaching end of this tendency and the formation of a new multipolar, pluralistic world. Now the USSR and the United States ought to adapt to new forms of international relations.

[Correspondent] Can the talks in Malta be regarded as successful, since no accords were signed or agreements concluded?

[Rogov] I think it was a very successful meeting since it determined the agenda for talks concerning most diverse problem areas. First, there are bilateral Soviet-American relations, their normalization and the elimination of barriers in the development of trade and economic and other contacts. This plays a significant role not just for the USSR but also for other socialist countries in respect of which all manner of restrictions are used within such an organization as the Coordinating Committee for East-West Trade Policy. The Malta meeting became a stimulus for eliminating these barriers.

The second group of issues on which an agenda for future talks was agreed is arms reductions. What this means is that the sides reached an agreement on signing a document concerning 50 percent cuts in strategic weapons. Also important is an accord on the accelerated rate of the Vienna negotiations on radical cuts in troops and conventional weapons in Europe. This concerns the interests of the majority of European states, socialist and capitalist equally. A correspondent writes: I single out this aspect, since so far the process of political changes in Europe has been running ahead of the arms control process. It is very important that no gap develops in this matter, that no structures from the cold war times are preserved.

The third result of the meeting is an accord on speeding up the signing of agreement on the elimination of chemical weapons. I see this as important, writes the correspondent, since to implement this agreement a previously unknown system of control will have to be set up. It ought to concern not just the weapons themselves but also their manufacture, which is also going to affect the control of nuclear arms, as well as other kinds of weapons.

[Correspondent] Can we conclude that this meeting has created radically new conditions promoting the formation of relations between the socialist and capitalist countries of Europe?

[Rogov] I think that the meeting promoted the formation of such a situation and such conditions. For both the leaders have reaffirmed the European countries' right to choose their own social and economic system. President Bush declared, for instance, that the United States should not dictate to the European countries what road of development they should choose. The USSR's position is similar. This has very important significance if we consider that the structure of rigorous confrontation between both blocks in Europe is becoming an anachronism. The USSR is in favor of reducing the military factor in such organizations as the Warsaw Pact and NATO and supports the development of dialogue, including on the basis of the process launched in Helsinki. It is also significant that the United States has supported the observance of the Helsinki accords, especially when we consider the changes currently taking place between the GDR and the FRG.

[Correspondent] Reading the documents published in the press one gets the impression that the meeting off Malta could become a useful stage in the process of preparations for Helsinki II.

[Rogov] I think that is a correct assessment. One can hope that as early as next year an important step toward the further development of the European process will be taken. I would like to emphasize the slip—or a new term—used by George Bush at the joint press conference. Speaking about the USSR the President said "our Soviet friends." I think that behind these words lie fundamental changes in the attitude toward the nature of Soviet-American relations and East-West relations. The image of an enemy is receding into the past, to be replaced by the image of a partner or even a friend. Obviously differences between the USSR and the United States, between East and West, are going to remain, but common and parallel interests are coming into the foreground. It is on this plane that the foundations of the common European home are being fashioned. The meeting off Malta could become a powerful stimulus for intensifying the construction of this home. [end recording]

## Results Positively Assessed

*SK0612053689 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 4 Dec 89*

[Text] We will now speak about the results of the summit held in Malta between the two superpowers.

Our station commentator Yuriy Solton says: I will first of all note the results from the summit between the leaders of the two superpowers.

In his interview with the Soviet Television service, Comrade Gorbachev said he thinks that the significance

of the meeting with the U.S. President has, first of all, provided favorable conditions by which to move forward in various directions to fulfill specific plans. I say that Bush, too, shares similar views.

At the press conference held in Malta, he said that we had made (?progressive) preparations for the settlement of broad range issues. What sort of issues? The two sides will make preparations for discussions on the basic contents of a treaty to reduce the strategic arms of the two countries by 50 percent, and then to sign it at a second summit to be held in Washington.

The next summit is scheduled for June of next year.

Success can be expected in conventional force reductions at the talks in Vienna. There also appeared a possibility of rapid progress for a complete ban on chemical weapons.

Of course, the disarmament issue cannot be settled immediately. Different points of view were expressed. An example was the issue of naval disarmament. However, a foundation has been established on which to progress.

At the summit held in Malta, the (?debatable) situation of the world was specifically discussed. Comrade Gorbachev reaffirmed the principled Soviet stand that the regional issues should be settled in a political manner. For example, President Bush was told that the Soviet Union supplies no weapons to El Salvador and (?desires) peace in Central America.

Of course, it seems that (?hectic debates) are underway in Moscow and Washington. However, in the course of the dialogue between Comrade Gorbachev and President Bush, the possibilities have appeared that progress can be made, if the two sides consider the issues.

It may be too early to say that the two countries share common stands toward the question of Europe. However, the dialogue was very comprehensive. What is important is that there was an agreement that progress should be made in Europe within the framework of the Helsinki Accords.

The leaders confirmed the continuity of the normalization of the Soviet-U.S. relations and their comprehensive development, which began at the high-level talks held in Geneva in 1985.

I think we agree completely with the remarks of President Bush that the U.S.-Soviet relations based on cooperation would make the future of us all even safer and brighter.

### U.S. Stance on Naval Reductions

*LD0512204289 Moscow World Service in English 0710 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] [First announcer] Last weekend Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush met in Malta. They had to exchange the site of the meeting because of bad weather but both were happy about its outcome, calling it an important step forward in Soviet-American dialogue. At a joint news conference aboard the Soviet cruise liner Maksim Gorkiy they said specific progress had been made on a treaty to halve the two countries' strategic arsenals. [words indistinct] signs of progress on a convention to ban chemical weapons and Mikhail Gorbachev announced the sides agreed that a treaty on reducing conventional forces could and should be signed as early as next year.

At the same time the news conference revealed differences on a number of issues. One of them seems to be of special interest to the Pacific nations, that is naval weapons, and here are more details:

[Second announcer] A week prior to the meeting American newspapers noted signs of concern in Washington over the [word indistinct] of Soviet naval warships from the Mediterranean. It seemed Mikhail Gorbachev was about to raise again the issue of bilateral naval reductions.

Indeed the Soviet leader reaffirmed his stand on the issue on the eve of his Italian visit. The Soviet Government, he said, could not imagine overall disarmament leaving out the strategic naval forces.

President Gorbachev was worried by the reluctance to take up the issue on the part of Washington and its allies given the progress in other arms talks.

[First announcer] Did Mr Bush shift from that stand at Malta?

[Second announcer] It seems he did not. According to UPI when President Gorbachev as expected pressed the case for naval arms control Mr Bush held firmly to the United States view that there are reasons not to constrain the deployment of U.S. Naval Forces around the world.

As the summit agenda was being prepared Margaret Tutwiler of the U.S. State Department explained to newsmen that her side knew of no monitoring procedures that could enhance stability as far as sea-based weapons were concerned. Earlier similar statements had been made by other American officials. That attitude has been impeding the progress of the arms talks. It's all the more strange given that on the eve of the Malta summit a Soviet-American seminar was held in Washington DC on remote and contact monitoring of ships for nuclear weapons. Last summer experts from the two countries conducted a remote monitoring of a Soviet naval vessel in the Black Sea. The experiment showed that nuclear arms could be detected aboard ships.

Having solved the technological aspect of the problem, the sides could have also solved its political aspect. A Soviet deputy foreign minister, Viktor Karpov, recently told newsmen that there's no problem in detecting nuclear arms aboard surface vessels. He admitted it was harder to pinpoint them aboard a nuclear submarine

because of the background radiation from the reactor; but even there, Karpov said, the arms could be detected when the submarine had surfaced.

[First announcer] Washington officials must have overlooked the reports from the seminar, otherwise they would have never claimed that there are no reliable monitoring techniques.

[Second announcer] It would appear that their claims have rather stemmed from America's general approach to the problem. It was recently formulated by the Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney who said his country must retain its global naval advantage.

[First announcer] An outlook on reductions of sea-based weapons.

### U.S. Professor Cited on Talks

*LD0112122289 Moscow TASS in English 1123 GMT 1 Dec 89*

[Text] San Francisco December 1 TASS—BY TASS correspondent Andrey Sidorin:

The unofficial Soviet-American summit near Malta beginning on December 2 will be great importance for promoting trust and mutual understanding between the leaders of the two countries, said Gail Lapidus, professor of political sciences of the University of California and Stratford University [as received].

She and a group of leading experts on the Soviet Union recently consulted U.S. President George Bush.

According to her, the two leaders have chosen the right time for an open discussion of a wide range of issues. Now that the situation in the world, especially in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, is changing so rapidly, it is particularly important for the White House and the Kremlin to explain their positions and expectations to each other and coordinate their views on the development of Soviet-American relations. They should discuss such important issues as disarmament, the superpowers' role in settling regional conflicts, economic cooperation, ecology, scientific and cultural exchanges, Lapidus said.

It is no less important for Bush and his entourage to get firsthand information and know Gorbachev's opinion of the current stage of restructuring and Soviet economic reform, of the prospects of settling inter-ethnic conflicts in the Soviet Union and of developing democratisation and reforms in Eastern Europe.

### Kozyakov Sees 'Tangible Progress'

*LD0512033889 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 4 Dec 89*

[Excerpts] Following the Gorbachev-Bush summit meeting in Malta, Gorbachev gave an interview to Soviet Television in which he expressed satisfaction with the outcome of the talks. [passage omitted]

Radio Moscow's Vladislav Kozyakov has contributed this comment:

[Kozyakov] There's a world map in the passport of each Malta citizen so that everyone can see where his country is situated. The deputy premier of Malta has said now the situation has changed, and the country is known to each and everyone. The Soviet-American summit held there has shown the whole world that the cold war is about to vanish into the past, ushering in an era of peace based on trust and cooperation. Historians will be sure to mark the contribution made to that process by Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush who spent 2 days conducting a frank and friendly discussion that enabled them to make notable progress in stepping up comprehensive Soviet-American cooperation.

People in the Soviet Union think it important that the U.S. Administration led by Mr Bush has not only reaffirmed continuity in America's foreign policy, but also made a few steps towards normalizing economic relations with this country. Even those issues which are yet to be agreed upon—say the American approach to cuts in naval forces, or the Soviet stand on a number of regional problems—no longer seem insoluble now that the main problem has been solved and mutual understanding reached in the political sphere. This is a guarantee that Moscow and Washington will proceed to deal with the most complex issues.

Given tangible progress at the Malta summit, next June's full fledged meeting between the two presidents promises to be geniunely fruitful. Next year may see the conclusion of treaties on strategic, conventional, and chemical weapons and possibly the convocation of a Helsinki-2 conference. [passage omitted]

### Bush Comments After NATO Session Cited

*PM0512195189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 4*

[Report by Special Correspondents Yu. Kovalchenko and B. Moskvichev: "NATO: Broad Prospects for Dialogue: NATO Council Special Session Discusses Results of Malta Meeting"]

[Text] Brussels—The world stands on the threshold of a new era in interstate relations which will begin from an historic moment—the Malta meeting. That is the general opinion of the majority of political leaders of the North Atlantic alliance countries meeting in Brussels. In the conditions of a rapidly changing world it is particularly important that mutual understanding be reached between the two great powers on the path to a political solution of the most complex international problems.

The Malta meeting marked the beginning of a sensible and realistic approach not only to overcoming the existing contradictions but also to the gradual creation of conditions in which confrontation must give way to reciprocal actions in the search for concrete solutions. That is why the results of the meeting of the North

Atlantic alliance countries' leaders is particularly indicative. At NATO headquarters, which is customarily regarded as the citadel of the cold war, they were speaking in the past few days about ending the cold war and about the need to build a new Europe based on the Helsinki Final Act, which guarantees the borders formed after World War II.

At the end of the NATO summit the first to address journalists was NATO secretary general M. Woerner. He rated the Malta meeting highly and noted its importance for the development of USSR-U.S. cooperation. The new situation in the world, he stressed, offers broad prospects for dialogue. In his opinion, there are broad opportunities for the conclusion of an agreement on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe as early as next year. At the same time, he believes that despite the improvements in the world atmosphere, the simultaneous disbandment of NATO and the Warsaw Pact is not possible at the moment.

The main event for journalists was President Bush's press conference. After calling the processes underway in the socialist countries a real, peaceful revolution, he urged that the foundations be laid for further peaceful changes so as to end the division of Europe, which must become united and free. NATO's political strategy, formulated in May this year, the head of the White House stressed, envisages our help in the all-around struggle for human rights, in the development of the democratic processes in Eastern Europe, and in aiding the rapprochement of the positions of the Eastern and Western countries.

At the same time, G. Bush advocated the retention of the U.S. Armed Forces in Europe for as long as the U.S. allies insist on their presence. The United States will remain a European power, G. Bush stressed. This also means that the United States will continue to assume its commitments toward Europe in the future. I believe, the President stated, that the CSCE conference may play an even more important role in helping to overcome the differences between East and West. In the President's opinion, the EEC should also play an important role in creating the new Europe.

On the question of German unification, the White House head stressed that in the interests of stability in Europe such a unification must be peaceful, gradual, and achieved step by step. As for the question of borders, we must confirm our commitment to the Helsinki accords.

After touching on the problem of NATO's future and the American presence in Europe, G. Bush said that it is possible that in the distant future, in 100 years' time, NATO will cease to exist but that day hasn't come yet. I proposed to our NATO allies, the President went on to state, that faster progress be made toward concluding an agreement on conventional arms in Europe. In his opinion, that is the thing to do with regard to strategic armaments.

During the press conference the U.S. President also answered a question from your IZVESTIYA correspondents:

"How do you view M.S. Gorbachev's proposal that NATO and the Warsaw Pact should become not so much military organizations as military-political and subsequently political instruments? Is it possible to foresee any forms of cooperation between the two alliances?"

"I can cite economic collaboration as an example," G. Bush said. "I hope that NATO, together with the EC and OECD, will play a more active role in East-West relations in the economic sphere."

The U.S. President stressed that tremendous opportunities exist for developing relations with the Soviet Union in many spheres. But for that there must be economic reforms in the socialist countries. The changes which have begun in the Soviet Union must be completed successfully because that will open up tremendous opportunities for us to live in peace with that very great country.

Now, when the in-depth consideration of the Malta meeting's results is only just beginning, the NATO council special session is of particular significance. The comments in the speeches of the North Atlantic countries' leaders on the paramount significance of maintaining stability on the "old continent," on the importance of safeguarding the rights of the European peoples to resolve their national problems themselves, and on the need to reduce the number of weapons with which Europe is crammed are perhaps the most significant evidence of the new period which has begun and is replacing the cold war.

## Pledges To Speed Up Arms Talks

*PM0612091789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Dec 89 First Edition p 3*

[TASS report: "G. Bush Press Conference"]

[Text] Washington, 4 Dec—President Bush held a press conference in Brussels today on the results of his meeting with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and also on his consultations with the heads of state and government of America's NATO allies.

He characterized the atmosphere of the meeting with the Soviet leader as "very good" and their conversations as "extraordinarily friendly." "I am convinced that he is absolutely determined to do what he is doing—in the area of reform and perestroyka. Glasnost, as we totally agreed, has a democratic value. I believe that we now feel more sure of our common aims," G. Bush said.

G. Bush was asked: "There was much talk that you and Gorbachev might discuss deeper cuts in arms, European arms in particular. Did you discuss that?" "No, we didn't," he replied. "We had a very broad discussion on our aims in the sphere of further arms control. But that

wasn't the focal point. I have proposed to our NATO allies that faster progress be made toward concluding an agreement on conventional arms in Europe. I, as President of the United States, will put pressure on our bureaucracy and will speed this up as much as I can. And I have been assured that our allies will do the same. I do not think that there will be resistance to that. The same is true with regard to strategic and chemical armaments."

### Soviet-U.S. Grain Talks Begin in Moscow

*LD0512154689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1239 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Excerpts] Moscow, 5 Dec (TASS)—TASS correspondent Vladimir Kirillov writes:

The state of the world cereals market, the progress of mutual supplies of bread grain, and the quality of goods supplied to the Soviet Union from the United States—such are the main topics being discussed at the Soviet-U.S. consultations which opened here today. The USSR delegation is headed by Yuriy Chumakov, deputy minister of foreign economic relations, and the U.S. delegation by Richard Crowder, U.S. deputy secretary for agriculture. [passage omitted]

The first measure to enhance the USSR's self-sufficiency in bread grain is the introduction in the country of the practice of purchasing a certain amount of bread grain for foreign currency.

Nevertheless, the Soviet Union is still a major bread grain purchaser on world markets, particularly in the United States. Thus, in the current agricultural year (which began in October) over 10 million tonnes of corn and also soya grist and soya beans have been purchased in the United States for delivery by March 1990.

## China

### Better Ties With China Benefit Asia-Pacific

*OW0412111189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 1 Dec 89*

[Belov commentary]

[Text] Our station observer Belov wrote the following commentary on the changes in the political situation in the Asia-Pacific region:

The normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations has had a healthy effect on the political situation in the Asia-Pacific region. A few days ago, Premier Li Peng told a reporter of West Germany's DIE WELT: The normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations, is, first of all, good for ensuring the stability in the Asia-Pacific region. It will not stand in the way of China's friendly relations with other countries. We Soviets do not hide our views and we are very glad that we share identical views on the role of Soviet-Chinese relations in world affairs.

Here I would like to quote remarks by Yakovlev, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, made a few days ago during his visit to Japan. He said: The normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations itself is of extremely great importance. It will have a decisive influence on the situation in the Asia-Pacific region. Yakovlev continued: Facts are facts. The normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations plays a decisive role in improving the situation in the Asia-Pacific region and the world over.

It is clear that although the remarks by the Soviet and Chinese leaders may differ in wording, their meanings are identical. Many facts could be cited to support this point. There are many facts, all of them took place in the second half of this year, after the May summit of the USSR and PRC in Beijing. The elimination of medium and short-range missiles deployed in the Asian part of the USSR has also been conducive to the easing up of tensions. The number of nuclear weapons in these two categories deployed in Asia has been cut in consideration of the desires of China, Japan, India, and other nations on this question. The Soviet Union began to withdraw its troops from Mongolia. This fact, I believe, does not have any significant impact on China's policy, because a considerable degree of mutual trust exists in Soviet-Chinese relations.

I believe, however, this has had a noticeable impact on the policy of Japan and South Korea. There have been plans for holding bilateral talks on wide-ranging issues of mutual interests. However, I would like to bring up a matter which would seem rather insignificant on the surface but, upon deeper reflection, we may find something new. I am referring to the positive response by the Japanese Defense Agency to the Soviet proposal for exchanging military information between the two nations. Vice Minister of Japanese Defense Agency Seiki Nishihiro said in Tokyo on 27 November: The Japanese Defense Agency welcomes and has no reason to say "no" to the Soviet offer to exchange inspection teams to observe military conditions in the Far Eastern parts of both nations.

Let us recall: Only 1 or 2 years ago, not a single crack could be found on the wall between Soviet and Japanese military information. The things we are hearing today are proof of deepening mutual trust. The conventions of cold war are being gradually discarded. It would not be wrong, I believe, to link this development to the impact of the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. This is also true of developments in other areas: For example, the Cambodian question is being solved step by step; the Philippines is taking a freer and more independent stand on international issues; Thailand has come up with a major peace proposal; and progress has been made in Sino-Vietnamese relations. Without the beneficial influence of Soviet-Chinese dialogue, we would not be able, I believe, to witness these important changes in the political life in the Asia-Pacific region.

### Deputy Finance Minister on China Visit

*OW0312023389 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 21 Nov 89*

[Text] A delegation of the Ministry of Finance of the Soviet Union visited the People's Republic of China. This station interviewed Panskov, head of the delegation and Soviet deputy finance minister.

Soviet Deputy Finance Minister Panskov said: During our visit in China, we paid special attention to the relationship between their central government and their provincial and county governments. Chinese comrades know that their provinces and counties are uneven in economic development because of both objective and subjective factors. For this reason, they treat different provinces and counties differently according to their conditions. Moreover, the central authorities also maintain a very democratic relationship with provinces, and everything is done in accordance with long-term contracts and task assignments. The relationship bears a great resemblance to the regional economic cooperation that we have just begun to establish.

[Question]: What experience can we learn from China's financial department?

Panskov said: [speaking in Russian, fading into announcer's Mandarin translation] First, we should clearly set the length of contracts between central and local governments, with 5 years as a minimum. Second, I think that we will unavoidably replace our [word indistinct] with [word indistinct] tax system. Third, we studied Chinese tax inspectors' experience in the implementation of the tax law. We think that we must establish a taxation supervisory organ in our country. Chinese comrades said that they also want to learn from the experience that we have accumulated in the course of reform. I am very glad that Chinese comrades accepted our suggestion—a delegation of Chinese Ministry of Finance will visit our country in the near future.

Deputy Minister Panskov said: I am deeply impressed by the friendly feelings shown by the Chinese people for the Soviet people. They warmly recalled the 1950's and they probably felt sorry for the confrontation in the 1970's. I am convinced that the Soviet people and the Chinese people can and should live in the midst of peace and friendship.

## Northeast Asia

### Japanese Government Cautious on Malta Meeting

*OW0612053689 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[By Tokyo correspondent Potapov]

[Text] News on the superpowers summit has consistently appeared in Japanese newspaper headlines. The papers have flashed bold captions saying the Malta summit has brought an end to the cold war and Soviet-U.S. relations have entered a new era. Various commentators have expressed differing views, but they all agree that the latest Soviet-U.S. summit has great historical significance and will positively influence future international developments.

Not only have General Secretary Gorbachev and President Bush come to know each other better, but the Soviet Union and the United States have also come to bear the responsibility of building their relations on the basis of new realities and in view of the advent of an era not of confrontation but of dialogue and mutual cooperation. Although no agreement was signed at the Malta summit, Japanese commentators are saying it is a spiritual breakthrough in Soviet-U.S. relations. The summit outcome points to the possibility of advancing step-by-step to a world without nuclear weapons and global relaxation of tensions. This is because the Soviet and U.S. leaders agreed to exert efforts to conclude treaties on the reduction of conventional and strategic nuclear weapons next year.

In contrast to such evaluations by commentators, the Japanese Foreign Ministry and Government, while approving the outcome of the Malta meeting, are taking a cautious attitude. While expressing satisfaction with the positive dialogue between the USSR and the United States in its official statements, the Japanese Government is also saying that it will not jump to any conclusions and will closely watch future developments.

### U.S. Ships With Nuclear Weapons Noted in Japan

*OW2011054689 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 17 Nov 89*

[Dmitriyev commentary]

[Text] As has already been reported, a U.S. naval affairs expert, Chandler, disclosed in Tokyo that U.S. nuclear weapons are being brought into Japan. Moscow Radio commentator Dmitriyev writes:

Mr Chandler, a naval affairs expert, told a press conference that the U.S. aircraft carrier Ticonderoga was carrying at least 33 nuclear weapons when it entered Sasebo Port in February 1966. The aircraft carrier *Ticonderoga* entered Sasebo Port immediately after an accident in which a Skyhawk fighter-bomber equipped with a hydrogen bomb slipped off the carrier into the sea 200 nautical miles northeast of Okinawa.

The data cited by Mr Chandler was based on a directive in force in the U.S. Navy at that time. The directive stipulated that all fighter-bombers be equipped with at least one nuclear weapon each. This directive most likely applied to the aircraft carriers Midway and Enterprise, which used Japanese ports as their base at that time, and other warships which sometimes called at Japanese ports.

Although it is unclear what directive is in effect for U.S. Forces today, it is well known that since the Ticonderoga

incident nuclear arms expansion has been carried out at a quick pace, even affecting the Navy.

Some years ago, the United States rose to the top in terms of warship-deployed cruise missiles by deploying Tomahawk cruise missiles on its warships.

Long-range cruise missiles are not deployed on Soviet warships in the Asia and Pacific region. This has been stated on many occasions by Soviet Defense Minister Yazov and other senior government officials.

The latest spread of nuclear arms expansion in the seas of the world is making people increasingly apprehensive. The Japanese press expresses increasingly deeper misgivings that the Soviet Union and the United States might be beginning a new arms race in the seas around Japan.

Last year Mr Chandler made it clear that, if a nuclear warhead aboard a U.S. warship should accidentally explode at Yokosuka Port, approximately 70,000 residents in the area would be killed by that explosion alone.

In late October of this year, the U.S. Defense [word indistinct] Institute pointed to a new, noteworthy fact. According to a report by this institute, the United States is currently polluting the seas of the world with its 35 nuclear arms-carrying surface ships and 128 nuclear submarines.

In any event, Japan and other countries have lately been paying considerable attention to this issue. The Socialist, Komeito, and other Japanese opposition parties, for example, resolutely call for strict observance of the three non-nuclear principles, Japan's national policy.

Of course, this issue is not limited to Japan. Considering an overall balance of military power, the naval nuclear arms expansion race, which must be accounted for, serves as the brakes on the world's arms reduction in general. This is particularly so in the Asia and Pacific region.

The issue in question was examined from this viewpoint at the International Conference of Physicians Against Nuclear War held in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. At the conference it was noted that the opaque policy of the United States, which neither confirms nor denies nuclear arms on its warships, constitutes an obstacle to nuclear disarmament in the Pacific. The Japanese Government was also criticized for its position of putting up with this attitude of the United States.

As a matter of fact, [words indistinct] of the U.S. Navy are rendering arms control and confidence building measures impossible. This is a natural attitude for the United States, which up to now has been trying to dodge talks on naval arms reduction as much as possible.

The Soviet Union has long been patiently proposing talks on naval arms reduction. The Soviet proposal includes a clause which calls for warships to give advance notice as to whether or not they carry nuclear arms.

## Japan Socialist Party Delegation Visits

*PM2111121989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*20 Nov 89 Second Edition p5*

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] A delegation of the Japan Socialist Party Special Committee for Japanese-Soviet Relations led by parliamentary deputy K. Murayama was in the Soviet Union 13-19 November at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

The delegation was received in the CPSU Central Committee International Department and the USSR Foreign Ministry. It had conversations in a number of USSR Academy of Sciences institutes and at the EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA editorial office.

The Japanese guests visited Leningrad, where they familiarized themselves with the course of political and economic reforms in the Soviet Union.

## CPSU's Stroyev Receives Mongolia's Dejid

*PM2911173289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*28 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report under general heading "Official Announcements"]

[Text] Ye.S. Stroyev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with B. Dejid, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, who stopped over in Moscow en route from Bucharest.

There was a warm, friendly conversation, in the course of which certain questions of Soviet-Mongolian cooperation in the sphere of agriculture were touched on. U. Gurbadam, Mongolian ambassador to the USSR, was present at the conversation.

## Problems in Construction Projects With Mongolia

*PM2011140989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*14 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4*

[Own correspondent V. Sapov dispatch: "Mongolia: Darhan Outlines"]

[Excerpt] Ulaanbaatar—[Passage omitted] In Darhan, rightly called the city of friendship, the contribution of emissaries from the Land of the Soviets, and there are several thousand of them here with their families, is estimated at its true worth. But a great deal is now being reevaluated. The "Darhan-90" construction program, with its whole complex of socioeconomic measures, is no exception.

"We drew this program up in coordination with intergovernmental agreements," city Mayor T. Tsevegmid told me. "Our town is international. Mongolian and Soviet citizens live in the same houses and share the same doorways. So we share our worries and joys."

Here is an example of a problem of the social kind. In Darhan there are 17,000 children of preschool age, but there are only 6,000 places at nursery schools. And although a school is built here every year, for the time being it is not possible to eliminate the double shift system for lessons. There are not enough hospital beds or doctors. This situation is particularly difficult in Sharin Gol, which is part of the consular district. And this is equally detrimental to the health of the indigenous population and the people on business from the USSR.

Citing these figures, the local "municipality" as well as the consulate general are becoming aware of the fact that work must be increased in the given assignment. But another thing is also becoming clear: At present, the city's industrial development, on which the solution to social problems depends, does not have a clear future. Many facilities are commissioned without technical or economic feasibility studies being carried out, on the basis of working drafts. Others are poorly coordinated with the programs for the development of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] productive forces and with the agro-industrial sector of the border regions in Siberia and the Far East.

Both Mongolian and Soviet interlocutors expressed their fears about the future of Sharin Gol, for example. The coal mines are running out of coal. So how can the people be employed? It is doubtful if the Darhan Heat and Electric Power Station can switch to using coal from Baga Nuur. After all, the Gusino-Ozerskoye deposits are much nearer. The lack of communication between departments is very obvious. For instance, the "Medmolibdenstroy" Soviet construction trusts have free capacities for manufacturing reinforced concrete products in Darhan, Erdenet, and Suhbaatar. At the same time, the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification is not even managing to reach any agreements with the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Ministry of Construction in the Southern Regions of the USSR or other ministries concerning the production of ordinary stanchions, which at the moment are imported here from the USSR, miles away.

"The organizational structure of construction abroad as a whole must be changed," I was told at the Darhan consulate, where it was suggested that a fairly simple scheme comprising ministries, suppliers, state designers, and manufacturing plants be considered. Such a system, it is considered here, would make it possible to reduce the numerous organizations which are currently involved in erecting industrial facilities abroad but do not bear full legal or material responsibility for fulfilling contract obligations. Apart from anything else, this would make it possible to reduce unnecessary reporting and a superfluous supervisory apparatus. But supervision ought to be increased in conjunction with local organs of power, the comrades noted.

I became convinced of the justice of that last observation when I became familiar with the measures being taken to put the complex "Darhan-90" program into practice. Unfortunately, it so happened that both sides shelved the plan for its implementation. But if they had created a joint commission, it would have surely helped to look to the future—about 15 years ahead. Even more so since the city party committee has experience in planning for the future with the help of scientists. At the moment, many vitally important matters are being resolved locally.

The partners believe: Implementing socioeconomic plans is inconceivable without mobilizing all public organizations. [Passage omitted]

## Southeast Asia & Pacific

### Nishanov Receives SRV National Assembly Group

*PM0112094489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Contacts Strengthening"]

[Text] Our friends abroad are observing the course of perestroyka with keen attention. This was stated at a meeting on 27 November between R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, and a delegation from the SRV National Assembly Foreign Affairs Commission headed by its chairman, Nguyen Thi Binh.

The guests were briefed on the practical implementation of the course of radical changes and the work of the second USSR Supreme Soviet session, and were told about the package of draft laws which have an important part to play in deepening the political and economic reforms in the Soviet Union. The Vietnamese friends were briefed in detail on questions of party building and perestroyka processes in the Soviets.

The head of the delegation outlined the main avenues in the implementation of the concept of renewal of all aspects of Vietnamese society's life and the nature of the process of democratization and consolidation of the principles of people's power. It was stressed that new approaches to improving contacts between Soviet and Vietnamese parliamentarians offer an opportunity more fully to take account of the experience of the USSR and the SRV in various spheres and to coordinate plans and intentions more closely.

### Kochetov Received by SRV Defense Minister

*PM0112103589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Nov 89 First Edition p 3*

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Hanoi, 28 Nov—Army General Le Duc Anh, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee Politburo and SRV minister of national defense, has received Army General K.A. Kochetov, USSR deputy defense minister, who is on an official friendly visit here.

Questions of mutual interest were discussed during the talks. Army Gen Le Duc Anh expressed gratitude to the CPSU, the Soviet people, and their Armed Forces for their valuable help and the enormous support given to the Vietnamese people in the years of struggle against the foreign aggressors and in the socialist building of the motherland. The Vietnamese people and their armed forces, he stressed, are following the progress of perestroyka in the Soviet Union with unabated attention. We make a high assessment of the Soviet Armed Forces' participation in this process and wish success to perestroyka, which is aimed at improving socialist society.

## TASS, VNA Sign Satellite Link Agreement

*PM2111141789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] L.P. Kravchenko, director general of TASS, and Dao Tung, director general of the Vietnamese News Agency (VNA), who are taking part in the Budapest conference of heads of socialist states' news and press agencies have signed an agreement. It provides for the further expansion of cooperation between the two agencies and the establishment of a satellite communication channel for the transmission of information within the "Intersputnik" system.

## Leftist Front Conference in Burma Noted

*BK3011131189 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 30 nov 89*

[Text] According to reports from Rangoon, major political parties have begun actively preparing for the multiparty general elections to be held in May despite the martial law declared by General Saw Maung's government. For instance, leftist forces of Myanma [Burma] recently held a conference in Rangoon—the conference of the Democratic Front for National Reconstruction.

Our TASS correspondent reports that the conference was attended by 300 delegates and 102 observers from other political parties. At the conference, the leaders of the Democratic Front for National Reconstruction reviewed the events in Myanma since the postwar period and laid down major political and social objectives and goals of the front.

Speaking at the conference, Thakin Chit Maung, chairman of the Front's Central Executive Committee and a well-known political leader, said that at the the time of preparations for the general elections for a multiparty parliament, unification of all leftist forces aimed at saving the Union of Myanma from the grave social and economic crisis should be the strategic goal of the leftist forces in Myanma. Thakin Chit Maung pointed out three main causes which had created the current situation in Myanma—the 40-year civil war; destructive influences of neocolonialism; and mistakes and blunders of the program called "the Burmese Way to Socialism."

He noted that although the Burmese Way to Socialism was basically a progressive ideology, in practice it utterly failed because it relied on military methods for administration and management instead of striving to win the people's support. He said although the Burmese Way to Socialism was drafted with good intentions, the good intentions alone were not sufficient.

What kind of (?programs) did the leftist front of Myanma lay down? Thakin Chit Maung declared at the conference of the Democratic Front for National Reconstruction that if they win the elections, they will not form the government immediately, but will strive to form a coalition government with representatives of parties who have won seats in the parliament and who are committed to democracy and patriotism. Thakin Chit Maung proposed the formation of an interim government after the elections are held. The government thus formed is to hold a national conference to draft a state constitution.

Thakin Chit Maung added that it would be important to include provisions for the main democratic characteristics of the state in the new Constitution of Myanma. It is important that the constitution to be drafted be better than the 1947 State Constitution and the 1974 State Constitution. Thakin Chit Maung believed that the country's foreign policy should remain unchanged.

The views of the political parties on the future socioeconomic institutions for Myanma are of great interest to observers. Speaking on this matter at the conference of the Democratic Front for National Reconstruction, Thakin Chit Maung pointed out that it is not easy to envision a strictly capitalist economic system or a strictly socialist economic system for Myanma, even in theory. The chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Democratic Front for National Reconstruction said the current economic system is a mixture in which the state, cooperatives, the private sector and joint ventures coexist. He said it is necessary for all these sectors to be included in the economic base of a new democratic state.

In his conference speech, Thakin Chit Maung called on the military government, the political parties, and the people to make a joint endeavor to hold the general elections freely and to overcome the national crisis. He also urged the candidates not to treat the election campaign as a competition among individuals.

The names of the 119 candidates who will be contesting in the elections under the Democratic Front for National Reconstruction were announced at the conference. In an interview with the TASS correspondent, Thakin Chit Maung said the leftist front expects to win in 250 constituencies. He said delegates from 132 townships throughout the country had pledged their support for the front's candidates.

He said that, as the election approaches, more candidates' names will be announced. Thakin Chit Maung said delegates from (?eight) independent peasants organizations attended the front's conference and they contributed to amendments to the front's election platform. He said the main rival parties to the front at the election would be the National Unity Party—the former Lanzin Party [Burma Socialist Program Party]—and the National League for Democracy led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and U Tin U.

The conference of the Democratic Front for National Reconstruction was concluded with a call for all political parties and people in the country to carry out the election campaign in unity.

The conference reflects the conviction of the democratic leftist forces in Myanma that maintenance of law and order is necessary for the struggle to establish a legal state in Myanma and to ensure economic independence and a high standard of living for the people. The delegates at the conference unanimously expressed their belief that the country's bitter experience has shown that intimidation and lawlessness cannot be exchanged for peace and that their aspirations are connected with the elections.

### Vorontsov Receives Australian Envoy 15 Nov

*PM2011164589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 15 November Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, received Ch.R. Ashwin, Australian ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request. Certain questions of Soviet-Australian relations and a number of topical international issues were discussed.

## Near East & South Asia

### Vorontsov Receives Lebanese Envoy

*LD0512172689 Moscow TASS in English 1642 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Moscow December 5 TASS—Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov today received Lebanese Ambassador Mahmud Hamud at the latter's request.

The ambassador conveyed a message to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev from Lebanese President Ilyas al-Hirawi.

Vorontsov and Hamud discussed the situution in Lebanon.

### Pakistan, USSR To Set Up Joint Trade Commission

*BK2811123089 Islamabad Domestic Service in English 1100 GMT 28 Nov 89*

[Text] Pakistan and the Soviet Union have agreed to establish a joint ministerial commission to institutionalize the economic and trade relations between them. This was decided at talks in Moscow between the Pakistani economic delegation led by the minister of state for production, Raja Shahid Zafar, and the Soviet delegation led by the minister of foreign economic relations, Mr Katushev. The Soviet Union has also agreed to participate and assist in the expansion of the Pakistan Steel [Mill in Karachi].

### Libyan Ambassador Arrives in Moscow 26 Nov

*LD2711162289 Moscow TASS in English 1050 GMT 27 Nov 89*

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—Salih 'Abdallah Salih, secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau (Ambassador) of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, arrived in Moscow today.

## Sub-Saharan Africa

### Envoy Discusses Joint Commission, RSA Reform

*MB2911152889 Johannesburg International Service in English 1130 GMT 29 Nov 89*

[From the "Africa South" program; interview with "Soviet Ambassador V. Ustinov" by reporter Steve Lang "shortly after" the sixth meeting of the joint South African-Cuban-Angolan Commission in Sanibonani, South Africa; date, place of interview not given—recorded]

[Text] [Ustinov] I believe the spirit and the way of work of this quite unique commission, because many members of this commission have no diplomatic relations, I believe it is a unique experience that this in the postwar world. [sentence as heard] And, in spite of that, we have found that we could reach agreements and, in many cases, by consensus, not in many cases, but ususally by consensus on many very burning outstanding issues.

So, I believe this commission set up a very good example for the future mechanisms which could be used for solution of some crisis situation, not only in Africa but even outside of Africa.

[Lang] The South African Government is presently involved in a reform program. Many countries say that the reform program is not fast enough. In the U.S., the government there has almost said that South Africa should adopt a fixed timetable. What is the Soviet Union's view on the reform process?

[Ustinov] I would like to refer to the statement made by the foreign minister of the Soviet Union quite recently. I haven't got the text, but, it's not a quotation, but I would

like to say that, in connection with elections in Namibia, our foreign minister just emphasized that we congratulate SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization—FBIS] for the victory in the elections; we congratulate the secretary general in the UN; the Organization of African Unity. But, at the same time, he acknowledged that it was, there was a contribution of South Africa to this process, and it was in The Hague he acknowledged also that it wasn't an easy for them to make such a step and that is, to a certain extent, opening the way for the returning to the international community.

So, I believe it gives such an outline for you about our perception, how we see the situation in southern Africa.

We, of course, supporting all the steps taking in South Africa for dismantling of apartheid system. For the time being, we considered them only, unfortunately, cosmetic, but if it proceeds in the right direction, I believe it is a good, it will be a good omen for the future.

As to the time frame, I am not prepared to say how many months it should be, and I do not believe it is simply possible, but our view is that it should be done, the dismantling of apartheid should be done as soon as feasible.

### Namibia Monitoring Commission Session Viewed

*PM0412161389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 5*

[B. Pilyatskin dispatch: "South-West Africa: Constructive Conversation in Sanbonani"]

[Text] East Transvaal (Republic of South Africa)—In an unusual display, the flags of the Republic of South Africa [RSA], Angola, Cuba, the USSR, the United States, and the United Nations are flying next to each other outside the main building of the "Sanbonani" Hotel, surrounded by the East Transvaal mountains. They are the "calling cards" of the joint commission for monitoring the settlement in South-West Africa. The schedule, drawn up in advance, envisaged 2-3 days of work. But when the conference hall doors opened wide Monday evening, the waiting journalists were already briefed on the final communique.

"Only a month ago the commission's sitting in Johannesburg lasted more than 40 hours. Now it finished ahead of schedule. Is this an indication that everything went smoothly?" I asked Ambassador at Large V.A. Ustinov, head of the Soviet delegation.

"Even though the work was intense," he said, "it proceeded in a constructive way and good atmosphere, with mutual understanding. There is no doubt that this mood was created by events in Namibia. I mean the holding of free and fair elections there, which provided the basis for forming the Constituent Assembly. Now it is elaborating the Constitution, following which a date will be set for proclaiming the independence of the last colony in the continent of Africa. Proceeding from all this, a number of delegations proposed that an invitation be sent to Windhoek, and the country hosting the joint commission backed this initiative. This is the first time that a delegation of Namibia's Constituent Assembly has taken part in the commission's work as observers. This makes it possible to speak of a fundamentally new stage in the commission's activity."

I would like to add to this appraisal by the Soviet delegation head that the Namibian delegation, in addition to South-West African People's Organization representatives, also includes members of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance. All participants in the meeting highly appraised the role played in the Namibian settlement by the UN Secretary General and his special envoy Martti Ahtisaari. There was a generally positive appraisal of the role played by RSA Administrator General Louis Pienaar, and satisfaction was expressed with the way the sides have honored their pledges.

As far as the RSA is concerned, I think that this was neither easy nor simple for it to do. But after all, at some point it must rejoin the international community and, in order to take this path, it has to take a first step and the Namibian settlement became such a step. As regards another commission member—Cuba—the communique says: The Cuban delegation reported that the withdrawal of troops from Angola is proceeding on schedule. I found out that this was appraised as a positive development at the commission's sitting in "Sanbonani."

Finally, it also discussed a question which concerns just a single individual but is indicative of the overall constructive spirit typical of the joint commission's entire work. Private Simeon Petrus of the so-called South-West Africa Territorial Forces, who was captured in Angola, has been released by decision of the People's Republic of Angola authorities and will be returned to Namibia in the next few days through the International Red Cross.

The commission's next sitting is scheduled to be held in Luanda next February. It may be convened earlier in the event of unexpected developments. Let us hope that this will not happen.

### Ethiopian Peace Talks Seen Hopeful

*EA2911135289 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 23 Nov 89*

[From the "Africa as We See it" program]

[Text] The second round of talks between the Ethiopian Government and the opposition Eritrean People's Liberation Front, EPLF, has continued in Nairobi. The basic objective of the talks is to ease the tension created in the northern part of the country. In this regard, we will read you a commentary prepared by our observer, Aleksandr Mikhaylov:

The current talks, like the previous ones, are being held in secret. Even Carrie Harmon, an official of the Jimmy

Carter Center, who is the spokeswoman of the talks, is not allowed to attend the talks. So the only source on the talks are the participants of the two delegations, who at times give press conferences and inform journalists. Nevertheless, the major issue is very well known.

Although the two groups strongly opposed one another at the beginning of their talks, the manner and spirit in which the talks progressed was said to be constructive and favorable to work. The agenda the group would discuss was also made public. The major issues which remained to be solved were: the selection of the cochairman, observers, and their roles in the substantive talks to be held in the near future. One can say that the issue is complex, because the Eritrean issue concerns several countries.

Inasmuch as Eritrea is situated along the Red Sea coast, oil-producing Arab countries and countries who use Arab oil in general, and the United States and Israel in particular, will pay special attention to this issue. Hence, it is very difficult to get an appropriate, independent observer acceptable to both the EPLF and the central government. However, our observer says, we are sure that the procedural matters will be solved now. He went on to say it would be very difficult to predict the speed and ease with which the peace process would be carried out.

[Words indistinct], the leader of the Eritrean delegation, 'Umar al-Borji, in his recent statement in Saudi Arabia said that the Nairobi talks [word indistinct], the result is not (?satisfactory), when we look at the statement, it is definitely aimed at creating problems in the situation. The broad masses of Ethiopia should give consideration to this type of statement.

Regarding the contacts between the central government and the Tigray Weyane [Tigray People's Liberation Front], the Tigrayans consider their acceptance of talks with the central government a success, because it came soon after they had launched some successful offensives. If an agreement is reached between the government and one major Weyane group, it will help to bring about peace in Ethiopia, or will be a step towards peace, and that is considered to be a giant step in that direction. Aleksandr Mikhaylov concludes his commentary by saying that this will serve as a basis for signing an agreement with the other opposition groups.

### Effects of Famine Threat in Ethiopia Viewed

*EA3011153189 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 27 Nov 89*

[Text] Experts from the United Nations World Food Program [WFP] have predicted that the northern parts of Ethiopia will be affected by drought early next year. According to their report, about 4 million people from Eritrea, Tigray, Northern Gonder, and Northern Welo will be faced with a severe food shortage until March 1990. Our commentator, Vladimir Borisov, has the following comment on this issue:

No one chooses where he will be born. The child born in Eritrea or Tigray has no answer as to who is responsible for the agricultural system in its motherland or to the longstanding war that is destroying the country. The child is born to live. If his birthright is threatened, then it will be very bad. His problems and agony concern not only his parents, but all young people whether living in Addis Ababa, Washington, Moscow, or Berlin, because you cannot differentiate among children.

Reports reaching us say that the international community is concerned by the grave situation created in Ethiopia. Ethiopia's weather is monitored by satellites made in different countries.

UNICEF has decided to carry out a fund-raising campaign to collect $9 million to purchase food and to transport it to northern Ethiopia. The WFP, for its part, managed to convince different organizations and governments to allocate 130,000 tonnes of food aid. It is expected that an estimated 50,000 tonnes of food aid will arrive at the Port of Mitsiwa at the end of this year.

It was stated that long-term projects—which are worth much more than the pledge—have been set up. For example, the necessary preparation is under way to repair old water pipes with the assistance of the Italian Government. It is expected that at the end of the repair work, by 1992, the capacity of supplying potable water to drought-hit Eritrean areas will be double. The construction of the new water tank in (Adi Shaka), north of Asmera town, which is capable of accumulating 6-7 million cubic liters of potable water has been completed by UNICEF. The new water tank was built to replace the old one which was destroyed by Eritrean heroes 12 years ago.

According to a representative of UNICEF, if the organization which had allocated the money for the project had not been afraid of another explosion, this tank would have been operational a long time ago. Opposition forces should properly reflect on the fact that it would have been possible to halve the water shortage this year in drought-hit areas if there had been peace in Eritrea.

The specialists have estimated that the said 130,000 tonnes of food aid is one-fifth of the total amount needed. It is believed that even if the total amount needed is acquired, its distribution and transportation would be hampered by the intensive war going on in the northern part of Ethiopia.

Above all, we are human beings, a collection of Christians, Muslims, non-believers, supporters of socialism or capitalism. When seen from many angles, we young people are the parents of all the children of our planet. We have to take care of them and save them from hunger so that they will have a bright future.

### UK Apprehensive About Influence in Kenya

*EA3011131589 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 23 Nov 89*

[From the "Africa as We See it" program]

[Text] The Kenyan president, Daniel Arap Moi, toured Western Europe during the week. He went to Western Europe to participate in the 10th International Political and Strategic Conference. It is clear that in its foreign policy Kenya gives priority to its relations with the British Government and businessmen. Nevertheless, it has become necessary to revise these relations from time to time.

Inasmuch as London pursues a policy of luring its colonies to the West, it will not relax until it knows where Nairobi's interests lie in this matter. London is looking jealously at the U.S. and German attempts to compete with Britain in Kenya's economy and foreign policy. Hence, the commentator concludes, President Moi's visit to London soon after his tour of West Germany might have been given [words indistinct] by the British Government.

### 'Bright Future' Seen for Uganda's Museveni

*EA3012083389 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 24 Nov 89*

[Vladimir Borisov commentary: "When will Uganda Get Peace?"]

[Text] The reason for the formation of several rebel groups in Uganda soon after the National Resistance Movement [NRM] came to power was not only that the NRM had brought dissatisfaction to civil servants and military officers, but also that the rebels were supporters of the former regime. The major problems that forced the rebels into strong opposition to the government were: Uganda's economic crises, complex tribal opposition, the government's revenge against and pursuit of relatives of the rebels, and the low level of education of most of the people.

The coming to power of [words indistinct] and the mistakes committed against [words indistinct] must also be mentioned. Nevertheless, observers confirm unequivocally that the broad masses have managed to stand firmly on their own feet under the leadership of Yoweri Museveni. The NRM Government has adopted a constructive economic and political position.

There have been two sides to the struggle against the rebels, for example: firstly fighting, and second, dialogue. On 11 July 1987, the Resistance Council gave total amnesty to all opposition forces who would voluntarily hand over their arms to the government. More than 35,000 people have benefited from this amnesty. In 1986, the government managed to reach agreement with the leaders of the Uganda People's Democratic Movement through a cease-fire and by absorbing them into the regular army. Nevertheless, the Spiritual Movement groups who rejected the amnesty have continued stiff opposition. Basically, the Spiritual Movement has been completely destroyed. Today there are only 200 members.

However, it is certain that much time is needed for Uganda to enjoy (?complete) peace. In [words indistinct], 200 km east of Kampala, remnants of the Ugandan (?Popular) Forces led by Peter Otai, defense minister in the former Obote regime, are still operating. In (Siwara), on the Zairean border, another liberation force is attempting to operate since [word indistinct]. The movement [passage indistinct]. It seems as if it reflects the benefits of [words indistinct]. It is being led by head of the intelligence service of the Obote regime, Amon Bazira. He is responsible for the massacre of very many civilians.

These individuals correctly realize that they will not have any power in times of peace. In this case, is the National Resistance Council restoring a great sense of peace in the country? The answer will hinge mostly on the basis of an improvement in the country's socioeconomic situation. It is the poor standard of living of the broad masses that has enabled the rebels to win support through force. According to many commentators, the balanced and constructive policy pursued by the leadership of Yoweri Museveni will provide a bright future for the Ugandan people.

### Somali Rebels' Lack of Unity Criticized

*EA3012093589 Moscow International Service in Somali 1600 GMT 28 Nov 89*

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Ibrahim Ahmed Mohamed, a Somali National Movement [SNM] official, recently said: The SNM is a predominantly Isaaq movement; our struggle is similar to that of the Afghan mujahedin, we are the mujahedin of the Horn of Africa. Ibrahim Ahmed Mohamed's utterances are wrong, for the SNM leaders are not like the fake shaykhs of Afghanistan who call themselves Mujahedin. There is no similarity between the governments of Siad Barre and that of Afghanistan. The SNM scoffed at Mogadishu's proposal for dialogue. This proves that the SNM has some similarity with the fake shaykhs of Afghanistan, who compare themselves to the mujahedin and who are opposed to peace.

Siad has proposed the formation of a multiparty system. The SNM is also calling for a democratic system in the country. The SNM and its leaders oppose the participation of Siad Barre in any future government in Somalia.

The SNM is responsible for the collapse of the economy in the northern parts of Somalia, and the subsequent inhuman oppression and subjugation which have befallen the northerners. However, our commentator says, hatred for the head of state and his family, and the overthrow of his regime, seem to be the basic objectives of SNM. The overthrow of the regime is what the SNM's

political and economic policy centers on. This shortsightedness on which the SNM policy is based renders the movement null and void. Other opposition movements fighting the regime also lack clear-cut policies. The movements are, namely: the Somali Salvation Democratic Front [SSDF]; the SNM; the Somali Patriotic Movement [SPM]; and the United Somali Congress [USC].

It is absurd when one sees that these opposition movements do not cooperate with each other. For example, they lack cooperation in the military and political fields. These movements hope that the regime is about to fall; and as a result, competition among them has arisen. The SNM is waging a war in the major towns of the north using antitank mines and antiaircraft guns. This bloody war has caused immense hardship to the country and its people. Ibrahim Ahmed Muhammad of the SNM has said: We are fighting now, and we shall see what follows after. Are these sentiments objective or in any way in the interest of the Somalis?

### CPSU Group Talks With Cape Verde Leaders

*PM0612111189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Visit by Delegation"]

[Text] Bissau, 29 Nov—A CPSU delegation led by Yu.G. Samsonov, first secretary of the Ulyanovsk Oblast CPSU Committee and member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, was in the Republic of Cape Verde at the invitation of the ruling African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde (PAICV) on 23-29 November. The delegation was received by Pedro Verona Pires, deputy general secretary of the PAICV and prime minister of the republic. They also had conversations with other members of the PAICV leadership and meetings in labor collectives.

### Arrives in Guinea-Bissau

*PM0512124789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Dec 89 Second Edition p 6*

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] Bissau, 30 Nov—A CPSU delegation headed by Yu.G. Samsonov, first secretary of Ulyanovsk CPSU Oblast Committee and member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, arrived in the capital of Guinea-Bissau 29 November at the invitation of the African Independence Party of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.

## East Europe

### BCP Chief Mladenov Visits, Meets Gorbachev

### Discusses Reforms With Gorbachev

*PM0612105789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 89 Second Edition p 1*

[TASS report: "Friendly Meeting"]

[Text] On 5 December M.S. Gorbachev had a meeting with P. Mladenov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria [PRB], who is making a working visit to Moscow.

M.S. Gorbachev congratulated P. Mladenov on his election to the top posts in the party and state, and wished the Bulgarian comrades success in the transformations they are undertaking. Intensification of the restructuring process in the PRB will serve to deepen mutual openness [otkrytost] and trust in relations between the two parties and states, and will be an additional stimulus to development of traditional Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation and friendship between the two peoples.

P. Mladenov described the content of the dynamic process currently unfolding in Bulgaria. The conception of the further development of socialism that was proclaimed in the past yielded no real fruit since the system of administration by injunction remained untouched, new mechanisms for solving qualitatively altered problems were not set in motion, and a rift between words and practice emerged. It is important that the party found in itself the strength to put an end to this, and to embark on the path of radical organizational and political changes.

A most important task at the present time is to implement a turn in the economy toward the needs of the people, toward human interests. This task can only be resolved on condition that all aspects of state and public life be democratized, and glasnost and a pluralism of views be developed. The Bulgarian Communist Party sees its role in securing, together with all other public organizations, unswerving progress along the road of the renewal of socialism.

Yes, M.S. Gorbachev agreed, this aim can be striven for only by creating effective mechanisms for the direct involvement of the popular masses in the management of social processes. [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1600 GMT on 5 December carries a similar item which at this point adds: "This is also borne out by our experience. If we had not included the reform of the political system in the overall design of revolutionary transformations, perestroyka would have choked long ago. Its main guarantee is real popular power, the working people taking on managerial responsibility for the state of affairs at the enterprise, in the rayon, the oblast, in all spheres of public and state life."] Perestroyka, M.S. Gorbachev continued, is an integrated, holistic system of logically interconnected measures. Should there be slippage in anything—the economy, politics, glasnost, democratization, ethnic relations—then, like it or not, positive changes in other spheres will also begin to be hampered. [TASS Russian at this point adds: "Thus, we are setting the task of precisely delineating the functions of party and state organs. But, if the party is freed from functions not proper to it, then it is necessary for the soviets to be ready to take them on. If

we want to proceed along the road of decentralization of the economy, then it is necessary for the administrative ties on which it has been held until now to be replaced by contractual relations."]

Perestroyka has encompassed all the spheres of society's life and is coming up against many complex problems. Yet we are confident that we will complete it successfully. This will have enormous importance not only for Soviet society and the rejuvenation of socialism, but for all of human civilization.

On behalf of Bulgarian Communists and the Bulgarian people, P. Mladenov expressed full support for Soviet perestroyka and stressed his intention to make use of experiences acquired in the course of its implementation, taking into account his country's conditions.

He reported on the preparation for the routine plenum of the BCP Central Committee and the session of the National Assembly of the PRB, where an evaluation of the situation would be given and practical steps for the near future would be mapped out.

The leaders of the two parties evaluated prospects for the development of Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation optimistically. Vast positive experience has been accumulated here, and the new conditions provide a possibility for intensifying interaction in all areas—in the economy, policy, and international affairs—on the basis of full equality, mutual benefit, and comradely solidarity.

During a discussion of the general global situation, P. Mladenov hailed the positive results of the Malta meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and U.S. President G. Bush and expressed the confidence that it will have a great effect on the development of international events.

The two countries' common views on prospects for improving the situation in Europe, including in the Balkans and the Mediterranean, was confirmed.

The conversation passed in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding.

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, a luncheon was given in honor of P. Mladenov.

It was attended by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, L.N. Zaykov, V.A. Medvedev, A.N. Yakovlev, and other officials.

### Gives News Conference on Visit

*LD0612000989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Prior to his departure by plane from Moscow, Petur Mladenov spoke at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center.

In a statement Comrade Mladenov said: As you know, I arrived here on a short working visit. The aim of this visit was the exchange of views on the development of Soviet-Bulgarian relations, on cooperation between the two countries and peoples, and also on processes taking place in our countries.

[Begin Mladenov recording in Bulgarian fading into announcer-read Russian report] When I speak of the processes occurring in our countries, I have in mind the perestroyka processes taking place there. Of course we also touched on a number of international problems. I want to note with satisfaction that our conversations passed in a spirit of comradeship, openness, and friendship.

The common resolve is to firmly follow the path of democracy and development and the renewal of socialism.

From the Bulgarian side the fact was noted that the experience the Soviet Union has amassed with perestroyka is of great importance for the development of Bulgaria. Speaking of this, we noted that our countries, together with their allies, are following the path of peace and cooperation. You know that serious changes took place in Bulgaria recently. At the present moment these changes are continuing and are doing so at an ever increasing pace. [end recording]

Comrade Mladenov then replied to journalists' questions.

### Comments on BCP Plenum, Turkey Ties

*LD0512153389 Moscow TASS in English 1504 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Moscow December 5 TASS—"The talks with Mikhail Gorbachev have demonstrated that Bulgarian-Soviet relations have a good future.

"We and the Soviet comrades are resolved to promote these relations in all spheres," Bulgarian party and state leader Petur Mladenov told a news conference here today.

Replying to questions at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Press Center, Mladenov said that trade between Bulgaria and the USSR would exceed 12 billion roubles this year and that the Bulgarian side would like to expand it to 70 billion in the first half of the 1990s.

The Bulgarian leader stressed the importance of promoting new forms of economic cooperation, including direct ties between enterprises and economic organisations, between Bulgaria and constituent republics of the USSR.

"Problems that confront Bulgaria as it has embarked on the path of restructuring are similar to those handled in the USSR," Mladenov said. He described the Soviet experience as common wealth that should be properly studied and used.

The Bulgarian leader announced that the plenary meeting of the Bulgarian Communist Party's Central

Committee, beginning on December 11, will assess the country's performance in all areas and outline practical measures for about one year ahead—a programme of stabilisation and the solution of immediate problems.

"We fully realize that this will not be easy as rather serious problems have accumulated and serious efforts will be required to resolve them," Mladenov said.

He pointed out that the Bulgarian leadership intends to follow the path of democracy, the plurality of views and the establishment of a law-based state in which all life of society would be regulated only by law.

Asked about relations with Turkey, Mladenov replied: "We wish to have good relations with all our neighbours, including Turkey.

"We realise that there are complicated problems in our relations, some of them go back in history.

"But we would also like to see that all outstanding issues are handled by peaceful means. I believe in the good future of Bulgarian-Turkish relations."

### Leaves Moscow

*LD0512145589 Moscow TASS in English 1432 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Moscow, December 5 TASS—Bulgarian party and state leader Petur Mladenov left Moscow today.

The general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party's Central Committee and chairman of the State Council was on a working visit in the USSR at the invitation of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee.

## Shevardnadze Meets Bulgarian Foreign Minister

*LD0512160889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1525 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Moscow, 5 Dec (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister, met Boyko Dimitrov, foreign minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria today. Eduard Shevardnadze warmly congratulated Boyko Dimitrov on his election to the responsible post of minister of foreign affairs.

During the conversation, the high level of Soviet-Bulgarian foreign policy cooperation was noted with satisfaction. It was stressed that perestroyka in the Soviet Union and in Bulgaria is giving new boosts to further raising the efficiency of our cooperation in the international arena.

In exchanging views about the processes of renewal unfolding in the socialist countries today, the ministers noted the fundamental role of the principles of freedom of choice, equality, and mutual commitment to one another's success. The ministers expressed determination to facilitate improvement of the activities of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Unity of views on all issues of international politics was affirmed in discussing the situation in the world. the ministers stressed the readiness of their countries to make the maximum contribution to solving the key problems facing the international community at the current stage.

The meeting passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

## Bulgarian Moves Toward Glasnost Viewed

*PM0512164989 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Dec 89 p 3*

[Own correspondent O. Mamedov dispatch under general rubric "Day of the Planet" and general heading: "The Capitals of Change"]

[Text] **Sofia**

"What do you want to read in today's editions?"

The replies to this question which I asked at a newspaper kiosk were unanimous: "More truth."

"Regardless of whether it is palatable or not, truth must come to the forefront," Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, too, stressed at a meeting with heads of the mass media and leading Bulgarian publicists. A frank debate highlighted overdue problems—the need to pass as soon as possible a law on the press, to discuss the question of the rational use of paper and establish the print runs of periodicals in accordance with readers' demand, and the impermissibility of using the mass media for settling personal accounts.

A pleasant surprise for journalists, including journalists accredited in Bulgaria, was the press conference given last Thursday by Filip Bokov, the government's press spokesman. He noted that this meeting marked the beginning of a new practice in the work of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers that is based on the desire to brief the public on the work of the supreme executive organ of power fully, in time, and openly. On this occasion it was a question of the approval by the Council of Ministers of draft laws aimed at democratization of the life of society and the transformation of the country into a rule-of-law state. The laws define citizens' rights to hold meetings and demonstrations and establish social associations and make provision for the introduction of amendments and additions to the Criminal Code. The Council of Ministers also examined questions of the redeployment and effective utilization of labor resources. A downward trend in the number of people in employment has been noted.

A press conference by Kosta Andreev, secretary of the Bulgarian Central Trade Union Council, on the same

day also opened with questions on the democratization of Bulgarian society. It was noted that the Bulgarian Trade Union Council has declared itself an organization advocating constructive action which has enough resources not to have to resort to extreme measures in the struggle for the interests of the working people. At the same time, it was noted that the Bulgarian Trade Union Council will make use of strikes, if and when all the means of democratic dialogue are exhausted.

### Break-Ins at GDR Public Buildings Reported

*PM0612092989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5*

[Own correspondent S. Baygarov dispatch: "GDR: Appeal for Calm"]

[Text] Berlin, 5 Dec—The situation within the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] is extremely critical. There has never been anything like it in its history. That assessment was given at a press conference at the Central Committee building yesterday evening by Brigitte Zimmermann.

The chief editor of the popular weekly WOCHENPOST, now a member of the working commission preparing the extraordinary congress, announced the creation of nine groups that are to submit proposals and conclusions on the causes of the crisis in society and the party, the party's next tasks, the SED's role in building a new socialist society, the SED's attitude to social organizations and movements, the elaboration of the draft new party statutes, the reform of the GDR political system, and other matters.

H. Giese, leader of the working group created the day before to conduct a party investigation into violations of the statutes and legality by former SED functionaries, reported that he has placed his personal seal on all Central Committee safes and archives, and not a single document will be released without his permission. This, of course, creates difficulties in the work of the apparatus but, in his opinion, it is absolutely necessary for an objective investigation.

Yesterday a commission was set up to investigate corruption and abuses of power. It includes representatives of the government, all parties, and new social groups. The commission urged citizens to show vigilance so as to stop important financial documents and valuables from being taken out of the country and to prevent the destruction of documents. An address and telephone number for reports have been published.

The working commission preparing the extraordinary SED Congress has reported cases of forcible entry into certain public buildings, a right which only official representatives of justice or special commissions have. Today's NEUES DEUTSCHLAND publishes an "Appeal to Reason" signed by a large group of prominent social figures and churchmen. They urge their fellow citizens to show prudence and responsibility, and above all to avoid violence.

### Western Forces Seen Trying To Destabilize GDR

*PM0512203189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Disinformation Refuted"]

[Text] The Western press has disseminated reports on attacks allegedly made against buildings occupied by state security organs in the GDR, in particular in Leipzig, Erfurt, and some other cities. This information began to be disseminated and broadcast by radio even before demonstrations had begun in those cities and before small groups of demonstrators had come into contact with representatives of the law and order agencies. As the facts show, such reports were aimed at provoking the demonstrators to clash with the authorities and at inciting individuals to commit unlawful acts.

According to reliable information, there have, in fact, been no attacks on the premises of the GDR state security organs or on representatives of the state security organs, despite the mass conditioning of public opinion. In Leipzig and some other cities small groups of demonstrators expressed the wish to meet with representatives of the authorities and in accordance with those wishes meetings took place. The conversations were held in a normal, businesslike atmosphere.

Judging by these and many other similar actions, increasing activeness is beginning to be displayed by forces in the West which stop at nothing in their attempts to destabilize the situation in the GDR and give rise to uncontrollable processes with no concern for the consequences of such provocative activity.

### GDR Abuses of Power Investigated, 'Mob Law' Seen

*PM0612104789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 89 p 3*

[Own correspondent S. Maslov dispatch under the general heading: "Dictatorship of Democracy?"]

[Text] Berlin—The numerous cases of abuses of official position and of corruption in the top echelons of power and at other levels which have become known in the GDR have aroused in GDR citizens a feeling not only of bitterness but also of anger. A statement by the working committee to prepare for the extraordinary Socialist Unity Party of Germany Congress published Tuesday expresses concern in connection with manifestations of mob law and forcible entry into administrative buildings. As the working committee declared, anarchy and chaos cannot be tolerated, just as lawlessness cannot be, from whomever it stems. Together with communists, other political forces and various public organizations have issued appeals for prudence, responsibility, and rejection of violence.

An accord has been reached between representatives of the government and of the new public organizations and parties to set up a joint commission to investigate cases of abuse of power and corruption.

A statement by the National Democratic Party of Germany Main Committee Secretariat indicates that a special party commission is investigating "suspicious aspects" in the practice of management of financial resources by former party Chairman Heinrich Homann. Although the commission has not yet completed its work, a personal file has been set up against Homann. The grounds for this were provided by information obtained relating to the existence of a hard currency account, which the former chairman of the National Democratic Party of Germany used for private purposes.

For 2 days the attention of GDR newspapers has been turned to the activity of the branch of the export-import firm of IMES located at Kavelstorf (Rostock Bezirk)—activity formerly covered by a veil of secrecy. Representatives of the public who demanded access to its warehouses discovered there, in addition to high-quality consumer goods, a considerable quantity of firearms and ammunition. Suppositions about the firm's currency machinations served as the grounds for this public action. These have now been added to by suspicions of illegal trading in weapons.

The firm of IMES was a trade enterprise of the Commercial Coordination Department subordinate to State Secretary A. Schalck-Golodkowski, who has fled abroad. His whereabouts are still unknown. It is only reported that while outside the country he telephoned Wolfgang Vogel, a well-known attorney in the GDR, and asked him to represent his interests. Representatives of the West German, West Berlin, and Swiss authorities have declared that they have no information on where the former state secretary is hiding.

Addressing a conference in Berlin, functionaries of the GDR National Front from eight of the republic's bezirks appealed for the creation of a new independent, democratic public movement and demanded the resignation of the National Council Secretariat of this mass organization. In their opinion, it is necessary to create a new movement in order to preserve socialism in the GDR.

At a session held Monday the Christian Democratic Union of Germany Main Board Presidium announced that the party is ceasing its activity within the framework of the Democratic Bloc. The party's leadership considers it more expedient to continue cooperation with other political and public forces in the form of a "roundtable." In its opinion, free elections must be held no later than the middle of next year. It is reported that the Christian Democratic Union Presidium expects Egon Krenz to give up the posts of chairman of the State Council and chairman of the National Defense Council. A demand is being made for the resignation of all members of the State Council and the convening of an extraordinary session of parliament. The Christian Democrats propose transferring the powers of the chairman of the National Defense Council to Hans Modrow, the present communist head of government.

In connection with the strike calls made by representatives of the New Forum's Karl-Marx-Stadt organization, the GDR Justice Ministry expressed its viewpoint in this regard in a report sent to ADN. It states, in particular, that the minister of labor and wages has been given a government assignment to draw up a draft law on the settling of labor conflicts. It will also govern the right to strike. At the same time, the Justice Ministry emphasizes that in the present economic situation it is necessary to ensure uninterrupted working in production.

And another fact. The Western press has disseminated reports of attacks to which buildings occupied by state security organs in the GDR have supposedly been subjected, particularly in Leipzig, Erfurt, and certain other cities. By all accounts, these reports had the purpose of provoking demonstrators to clash with the authorities and inciting individuals to illegal actions. In fact, however, there have been no attacks on premises occupied by GDR state security organs or on representatives of the state security organs.

### GDR Forms Commission to Investigate Corruption

*LD0512110489 Moscow TASS in English 0658 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin December 5 TASS—Wolfgang Mayer, a spokesman for the Government of the German Democratic Republic, announced at a news conference on Monday the formation of a commission to investigate all cases of abuse of power and corruption.

On the commission are representatives of the government and nine social groups and parties.

The commission members called on the citizens of East Germany to thwart attempts at concealing such cases in the face of crisis in the state.

Mayer emphasised that the Government of the GDR welcomed and fully supported this call.

### 'Distrust' of SED Said Deeply Rooted

*PM0512143389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 3 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS correspondent I. Osinskiy report for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "Renewal Process"]

[Text] Berlin—How to regain the people's trust, to confirm through actions the right to march in the working people's vanguard, and how to avoid being left out of the process of socialism's renewal on German soil—these issues will be discussed at an extraordinary Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee Plenum that will take place today.

The situation in which the leading GDR party has found itself is, frankly, not a simple one. Public opinion regards

it as the main culprit in the grave political and economic crisis that has developed in the country. Of course, it is a question here not of the more than 2 million working people who are SED members and who made a decisive contribution to eradicating Nazism, implementing the profound democratic transformations and creating the model economy, but of the comparatively small group of party functionaries besmirched with corruption and financial machinations who permitted gross abuses of their official position. Today NEUES DEUTSCHLAND called yesterday's session of the GDR People's Chamber a "tribunal." A principled, impartial assessment was given at it of all the breaches of socialist legality and divergences from communist ethics.

Carrying out the will of millions of citizens, the country's supreme organ of state power decided unanimously to exclude from the first article of the GDR Constitution the provision on the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party. Giving an assessment of this fact, the central SED organ notes that the party is deprived not of the right to be in front, but of the administratively absurd claim to perpetual leadership of the country regardless of its theoretical and practical achievements.

Distrust of the SED has taken deep root today not only without but also within—among the members of the party itself. In recent months more than 200,000 people have voluntarily left it. Getting them back, restoring the spirit of healthy optimism which always distinguished the communists, will not be easy. But it is possible. The new SED leadership is convinced of this and pins great hopes on the forthcoming extraordinary plenum and congress.

The fate of all perestroyka in the GDR will also depend largely on how quickly the communists succeed in restoring their shaken positions. And so far it is proceeding far from smoothly. The large-scale demonstrations are continuing. Those participating in them are unhappy with the pace of the changes and are demanding more decisive measures from the country's leadership. In the heated atmosphere sometimes hostile slogans can also be heard, and ill-considered proposals are being expressed. This is precisely how the country's public assessed the call for a general strike by the activists of the Karl-Marx-Stadt group of the "New Forum" organization. Striking is not a method for solving urgent problems, it can only aggravate them, A. Kimmel, chairman of the Free German Trade Union Federation, stressed.

The GDR's manpower resources are already strained. The situation is particularly bad in the social sphere: there are not enough doctors or salesmen. The Berlin city council appealed to city dwellers to fill the vacancies at least on their days off.

The GDR population is no less concerned about the republic's political future. By no means everyone has been able to work out correctly the essence of the program set out by FRG Chancellor H. Kohl on the German policy question. There are people who were tempted by the idea of solving all the problems at a stroke by becoming part of a single German state. But "magic wands" exist only in fairy tales. Economic aid accepted in these conditions would turn into not only loss of sovereignty for the GDR, but also a step back in the sphere of social policy, the press notes.

"We are categorically against reunification. By confederation our party understands an equal union of states, and not a single allied state. That is the main difference. It stresses the need for the existence of two sovereign German states with different social structures," G. Hartmann, chairman of the National Democratic Party of Germany, noted in conversation with the TASS correspondent.

Nonetheless, in spite of the acute problems and difficulties, the GDR is fully determined to continue the process begun to democratize society and renew socialism on the German land.

## Ex-Union Chief Tisch's Corruption Outlined

*90UI0164A Moscow TRUD in Russian 29 Nov 89 p 3*

[Report by TRUD correspondent V. Nikitin: "Investigation Demanded"]

[Text] Berlin, 28 November—The republic had long known about the hunter's passion of Harry Tisch, former chairman of the board of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions, but few people knew about the reservation where the "defender of the working people's interests" would often abandon himself to his enthusiasms. But the veil of secrecy has now been cast aside: The unions' newspaper TRIBUNE has published a report from the personal woodland in Rostock District in the north of the GDR.

The "amateur huntsman" had allotted himself no more, no less than 2,500 hectares of excellent forest. A wire-fenced enclosure containing a herd of wild boar had been erected on 30 hectares. The land was kept by 35 wardens and huntsmen, engineers, and workers. They had at their disposal a whole machinery and tractor pool of modern equipment, which the neighboring agricultural cooperative even lacked. Corn and other crops were cultivated for the condemned beasts (and H. Tisch and his guests shot up to 350 animals a year). Even a two-way VHF communications system was installed for controlling the hunting.

The publication has caused a wave of anger and indignation. It is outrageous, Karl-Heinz Henke writes today in the newspaper on behalf of the trade union committee of the locomotive plant in Hennigsdorf, that such things could be permitted by the former leader of the unions and Politburo member of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee. Who were his guests? Who financed the sporting entertainment?

He is supported by Dorris Flebel, deputy chairman of the trade union committee of a spinning factory from Muehlhausen: "I cannot bring myself to call the former chairman of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions Central Committee 'comrade' or 'colleague' even. It is impossible to imagine the shock caused in our collective by the newspaper's publication. It takes years of strenuous labor for us to live 'humanly,' but here.... There is only one conclusion: strict answerability before a court of law, expulsion from the party, and, first of all, immediate expulsion from the trade unions."

The Confederation of Free German Trade Unions Central Board issued a statement which demanded that the "amusements" of the former chief be handled by the special commission of the GDR People's Chamber set up earlier to investigate instances of corruption, personal enrichment, and other perversions of party and state life.

## GDR Poll on SED Prestige, Personalities Cited

*90UI0163A Moscow TRUD in Russian 28 Nov 89 p 3*

[Report by TRUD correspondent V. Nikitin: "Results of a Poll"]

[Text] Berlin, 27 November—For the second time in the past month the results of a public opinion poll conducted by the republic's sociology institutes have been published in the GDR. According to them, 83 percent of those polled supported the preservation of a sovereign socialist German state, and almost 9 out of 10 supported a continuation of perestroyka and a qualitatively new socialism. Three-fourths of those polled are of the opinion that recognition of GDR citizenship by the FRG would play a particular part in the further organization of bilateral relations.

Almost 42 percent were disenchanted by a loss of confidence in the party and were unable to name the defender of their interests. The replies to the question concerning a popular personality (names were not suggested) stand out particularly against this background. Over 40 percent named H. Modrow, the new chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and only 9.6 percent was garnered by the name of E. Krenz, general secretary of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee, who came in second. Approximately one-third of those polled expressed no preference.

The vast majority supports the enactment of a new, democratic election law, but 67 percent of those polled were as yet undecided as to whom they would vote for. Almost as many, on the other hand, supported the possibility of all parties and organizations, new ones included, having the right to field their candidates. If the elections were held tomorrow, the SED would obtain only 19 percent of the vote.

## 'Sensation' of SED Resignations Viewed

*LD0512235289 Moscow TASS in English 2315 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin December 6 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Osinskiy:

The resignation of the full composition of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee at a time when less than a fortnight remains to go before the extraordinary party congress is viewed as a sensation even in the present tumultuous period and remains in the focus of attention.

Even though the party leadership, elected long before the beginning of the present period of renewal, found it difficult to get rid of the burden of the past and give up old methods of action, it has done quite a lot to consolidate sound forces and promote the process of democratisation.

But the working people, among them communists, demanded still more decisive actions and unconditional condemnation of abuse and immediate creation of a legal mechanism that would reliably protect society against the repetition of such mistakes.

It turned out that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee has been unprepared for that. One of the main mistakes of the Central Committee and Politburo of late was that they had failed to fulfill their duty to expose the abuse of power.

"Much time has been lost because of that, and confidence jeopardised," Herbert Kroker, chairman of the working group for the preparation of the extraordinary party congress, said in an interview published by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND today.

ADN news agency reports that a large campaign to expose corruption and financial machinations and punish those guilty has been launched.

Besides a group of former members of the Politburo arrested earlier, some high-ranking leaders, Erich Honecker among them, are under house arrest.

A special group of 50 criminalists has been formed at the main department of criminal police. Similar groups work in provinces. Eleven criminal proceedings have already been instituted.

There are rumours that archives containing materials compromising former leaders of the party and state might have been destroyed. So representatives of the public, jointly with workers of the public prosecutor's office in many cities, strive to assume control of the archives. Quite often this leads to acute situations, ADN news agency reports.

Hans Modrow, prime minister of the German Democratic Republic, told reporters today that the government is doing everything necessary to elucidate the facts of violation of socialist legality and to punish those guilty.

Asked if the crisis of the party will have a negative effect on the activity of the Council of Ministers, he answered that the government enjoys confidence and will be conscientiously performing its duties.

### 'Future of Socialism in GDR at Stake Now'

*PM0612102189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 4*

[Own correspondent V. Lapskiy dispatch: "GDR: Appeal To Refrain From Violence"]

[Text] Berlin—The closer the extraordinary Socialist Unity Party of Germany Congress comes, the more strenuous the party's work and the sharper the debates within party organizations become. Delegates are being elected. The working commission set up following the resignation of the Central Committee and the Politburo—a temporary leading body of 25 people who did not sully their reputation under Honecker—is engaged in preparing for the congress. The commission is having to work under highly complex conditions. I can say without exaggeration that the future of socialism in the GDR is at stake now.

The party's position is more critical than ever before, Brigitte Zimmerman, member of the commission and editor in chief of the weekly WOCHENPOST, said at a press conference. The commission is urging citizens to be prudent and, above all, to refrain from using force. Illegal actions, whoever commits them, are equally intolerable, as are manifestations of anarchy and chaos. The commission has appealed to all party members to remain calm and reasonable in the interests of the country's continued existence.

Political tension in the GDR has increased once again. A wave of demonstrations involving many thousands of people swept the country on Monday.

A large group of demonstrators in the center of Leipzig demanded German reunification; black, red, and gold flags and banners fluttered over the crowd: "A United Germany Is Our Homeland." A representative of the "New Forum" movement spoke from the rostrum. The GDR must be preserved, he said, it must not become a land in the Federal Republic. Representatives of "New Forum" and some other new movements and groups condemned manifestations of nationalism in the GDR.

In Leipzig 150,000 people took part in the street procession and rally despite the dank weather. There were also demonstrations in other cities. One of the loudest demands today is for past and present leaders who used their posts for personal gain and who were involved in corruption to be punished.

A special commission has been set up to investigate cases of embezzlement of public funds. It includes representatives of the government and the new public organizations. It called on all citizens to display vigilance and immediately inform competent organs "of any attempts by senior officials to take money and valuables abroad or destroy important documents and information."

At the appeal of the general prosecutor, the Foreign Ministry has demanded that GDR embassies in Europe, the Near East, and Latin America join in the hunt for Schalck-Golodkowski, a functionary who has fled the country. The former state secretary's whereabouts are still unknown. It is suspected that he has escaped into Switzerland, where there is a large sum of money in his bank account. The GDR has no agreements with Switzerland and the FRG regarding juridical assistance.

At the same time, on the orders of the GDR's supreme military prosecutor, all entrances to an underground weapons cache in the village of Kavelstorf near Rostock have been sealed off. The cache belonged to Schalck-Golodkowski's department. It was recently discovered by "New Forum" activists. An investigation is under way.

### GDR, FRG Discuss Currency Issue, Kohl Visit

*LD0612023189 Moscow TASS in English 2051 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin December 5 TASS—East and West Germany will set up a joint currency fund under an agreement reached by East German Prime Minister Hans Modrow and West German Chancellery Minister Rudolf Seiters in Berlin today.

They also coordinated the date for West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit to the German Democratic Republic. Kohl will visit Dresden on December 19.

Modrow and Seiters told reporters after their talks that the East German Government will scrap visa requirements and compulsory currency exchanges for West Germans as of January 1, 1990.

The joint currency fund deal annuls the "welcome money" that each East German visitor to West Germany or West Berlin has been paid.

The money will now be part of the currency fund, to which each side will contribute 750 million West German marks.

The fund will be used to provide hard currency to East German visitors.

### Berlin Mayors Discuss Status, Currency Issues

*LD0612021989 Moscow TASS in English 2028 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin December 5 TASS—Erhard Krack, the oberbuergermeister (lord mayor) of the capital of the

German Democratic Republic, met today Walter Momper, the regierender buergermeister of West Berlin.

The two mayors discussed cooperation between East and West Berlin.

Speaking to journalists before the meeting, Krack stressed that he and his West Berlin counterpart planned discussion of municipal questions.

Matters of state and the problems of status and currency are to be clarified at a different level, he said.

The main condition for their talks is that they must by no means violate the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin.

Noting that their talks were not beginning from scratch as they were preceded by diverse other meetings, Momper voiced optimism as to the outcome of the talks.

Krack stressed that he proceeded from the fact that the problems confronting the two sides could be resolved.

It is necessary to do everything to solve the problems concerning transport, the environment, and the infrastructure, as well as other issues of concern for citizens, the ADN news agency noted.

## CSSR Political Leaders Urged To Compromise

*PM0612105989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5*

[Dispatch by own correspondent S. Vtorushin: "CSSR: More Rallies..."]

[Excerpt] Prague—[passage omitted] After several days of relative calm, the political atmosphere in Czechoslovakia has again become exacerbated. The opposition has moved to an open offensive and is exerting every form of pressure on the government, the federal assembly, and the president of the republic. Its ultimate objective is to secure early parliamentary elections. Attempts to discredit the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia are being made at the same time.

The stabilization of the situation depends in many respects upon the wisdom of political figures and their ability to reach compromises. This also applies to the "Civic Forum" leaders. Their actions are considered by many to be an attempt to replace one monopoly of power with another. The exacerbation of the situation and the switch to open confrontation could only do Czechoslovak society harm. Many people are beginning to talk about this openly.

## CPCZ Seen Lagging in Implementing Reform

*PM0512135989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5*

[Own correspondent S. Vtoryshin report: "Czechoslovak Communist Party Action Program"]

[Text] Prague, 4 Dec—The Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium has published two documents determining the party's activity for the immediate future. One of them announces that on Saturday and Sunday there will be district [rayonnye], and a week later regional [oblastnye] conferences at which delegates will be elected to the extraordinary congress. The second document is the party's draft action program, which will be discussed at the forthcoming conferences.

Not only the party, but also all society has been waiting for these documents. The holding in the near future of district and regional conferences means that the convening of the congress will be speeded up. Many Communists are talking about the need for this. The situation in the country is rapidly becoming more complex. The party needs a precise and clear action program in the new conditions, and only a congress can provide this.

The CPCZ's draft action program, called "For a Democratic Socialist Society in the CSSR," describes the present situation in the party and society, gives an assessment of some historical facts, and suggests paths for the country's further development. As a result of past mistakes that still remain to be analyzed, the document says, socialism was distorted. We are resolutely breaking with the old concept of one party having the leading role.

As is known, the attitude to the events of 1968, which divided society into two parts, one of which perceived the events as an attempt at renewing socialism, and the other, conversely, as a desire to return the country to the lines of bourgeois development, was almost the most painful question in Czechoslovakia's public life. After 1968 about 500,000 communists were expelled from the CPCZ. The old leadership, relying on the document entitled "The Lessons of the Crisis Development in the CPCZ and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress," believed that everything that had been done after 1968 was correct and not subject to review.

Another assessment is made of the events in the party's draft action program. The introduction into Czechoslovakia of troops from five Warsaw Pact Organization countries is described as unjustified, and the decision to do this deemed a mistake. For the first time the document says that after 1968 thousands of honest communists were expelled from the party together with those who disagreed with its views.

The CPCZ draft action program undoubtedly grabbed the attention not only of communists and figures from other political parties and public movements, but also of all society. The document mentions the new conditions in which the party will now have to operate and its goals and tasks and stresses that as before the CPCZ remains the party of the working class and all the working people and will resolutely defend their interests.

A completely new political situation has emerged in Czechoslovakia. At the congress of agricultural cooperative representatives, which ended Saturday, the creation

of a peasant party was announced. A report was published on the restoration of the Social-Democratic Party, which existed from 1878 through 1948, when it merged with the CPCZ.

The CPCZ must act under conditions of increasing pressure from its opponents and the increasingly acute political struggle. But as of today it is the only party that has proposed a program for society's renewal.

## Opposition Pressures on CPCZ Leadership Viewed

*PM0512160189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Dec 89 p 3*

[Own correspondent Ye. Nefedov dispatch under general rubric "Day of the Planet" and general heading: "The Capitals of Change"]

[Text] **Prague**

The following remark is doing the rounds in Prague: "What is happening here took Poland 10 years to achieve, the GDR 10 months, and Czechoslovakia 10 days." Some people are saying this with joy and enthusiasm, while others are saying it with sorrow and regret. The latters' feelings are perhaps understandable. The time that the country's Communist Party and its supporters had to make a businesslike and substantive start on restructuring was spent mostly in debates about its necessity... Quite naturally, instead of the party forces which had a precise plan for transformations in society along the lines along which events are now developing—a plan which, it must be assumed, was not elaborated until recently in November—assumed the initiative. And even if the views of the two sides on ways of effecting the renewal are almost identical on a number of points, society gives its preference to those who first declared their intentions and embarked on their implementation. This is why the popularity of the "Civic Forum" is rising. This is why the Federal Assembly, essentially at the "Civic Forum's" instigation, introduced a number of amendments to the country's Constitution in the past few days, which the party leadership had not managed to do although it had intended to. They are highly important in essence: the repeal of Article 4 on the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] in the life of Czechoslovak society, the reorganization of the National Front, and the replacement of the principles of Marxism-Leninism by modern scientific theories and findings as the basis of the society's education. Accepting such innovations is difficult, of course, but the party views them as the realities of the day and agrees with the fact that the society's vanguard is not appointed, that prestige is not born in a vacuum, that it is forged as a result of practical actions in keeping with the people's interests. This is precisely what it sees as its main task in the upcoming struggle.

## New Personalities on CSSR Political Landscape

*PM0512165189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 4*

[Own correspondent L. Kornilov dispatch: "Faces Old and New"]

[Text] Prague—A session of the parliamentary commission formed to examine the law enforcement forces' actions 17 November is being held in Prague. Apart from deputies, the commission includes representatives of the Students' Strike Coordinating Committee, the Socialist Youth Union [CSM], and "Civic Forum." The commission was addressed by M. Jakes, former general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee; M. Stepan, former first secretary of Prague CPCZ City Committee; A. Lorenc, CSSR first deputy minister of internal affairs; J. Prokopec, Czech minister of health and social affairs; and V. Mohorita, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium.

"Do you feel politically responsible for these events?" M. Jakes was later asked by journalists.

"No," he replied. "The central political organs rejected the possibility of the use of force even before 17 November."

It is reported that 10 Communist deputies called on CSSR President G. Husak and expressed their unambiguous support for him. G. Husak thanked them and stated, among other things: "I wholly advocate dialogue and democratic talks among political parties and social groups."

Apart from the well-known names, many new names, including forgotten names, are appearing on the Czechoslovak sociopolitical horizon. Television viewers were addressed in turn by L. Strougal and O. Cernik, two former premiers: the former retired quite recently, in 1988; the latter held the post in 1968. Rudolf Suster has been elected the new chairman of the Slovak National Council, while 25-year-old Martin Ulcak has been elected chairman of the CSM Central Committee. The books of Pavel Kohout, Milan Kundera, and other emigre writers have been returned to library shelves. The preparatory committee for the reunification of the renewed Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party is headed by Slavomir Klaban (the party existed in Czechoslovakia from 1878 through 1948). Membership in the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences has been restored for all of its members who were expelled in the past for political reasons, including Professor O. Sik, Professor J. Hajek (the former foreign minister), and Professor A. Kolman (posthumously).

More and more social and political organizations continue to emerge. Some of these organizations have been founded by CPCZ members. For instance, the Marxist Intelligentsia Club and the "Communists' Democratic Forum." On 2 December I talked with one of its activists and leadership members Jaromir Sedlak, the well-known journalist and economist. He said, in particular:

"Some 40,000 Communists have already joined us. We are not cutting ourselves off from the CPCZ. Our 'Communists' Democratic Forum' is an initiative group within the party which hopes to help it avoid Brezhnevism and support all progressive elements within the party—figures such as L. Adamec, K. Urbanek, V. Mohorita, M. Valek, R. Gegenbart [name as transliterated], and probably L. Strougal too. We accept the draft CPCZ action program, but we are disappointed with one aspect of it: Elections of deputies at the congress will be held under the old system of districts and regions. This raises the possibility of all kinds of manipulation. As for the 'Communists' Democratic Forum,' I think we will be able to unite not less than 200,000 people. If we look at things on a broader scale, we need a coalition of left-wing forces—the CPCZ, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the 'Rebirth' Club, the social democrats, and other forces geared to socialism."

## Rifts Within Hungarian Left Assessed

*PM0512170589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4*

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov dispatch under the rubric "Hungary Today": "Who Will Take the Helm?"]

[Text] Budapest—I once noticed a cartoon in NEPSZABADSAG: A car is careening down a bumpy road full of potholes. Several people have grabbed the steering wheel all at once, others are tearing it out of their hands, and yet more hands are stretching from the back seats to take over the "steering." An expressive picture. It hits the nail right on the head.

How will "multiparty" leadership of the country take shape? Which party's candidate will become president? And what totals will light up under the "for" and "against" sections of the panel of parliament's new "voting machine," thereby determining the direction of development? All this will be decided in the next few months.

Are the left-wing parties, the socialists, the communists ready for the competitive struggle of ideas? Have they realized where the "car" is going?

After the May 1988 Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] conference, party members emerged as the initiators of renewal. The entire structure of the old model of socialism began to be dismantled. First the roof and the upper stories began to crack and fall down. The plans and ideas within the party leadership with regard to further perestroyka differ; the assessments of what the MSZMP did in the past and interpretations of the change in the model also differ. However, one thing is clear: Either perestroyka must bring the country closer to the world's developed countries or it will slide from its state of stagnation toward disintegration.

I must also say that both upper and lower echelons have been shaken by the reassessments of the events of fall 1956. Society was painfully split by the rehabilitations and reburials of the victims of those events. J. Kadar's funeral at the end of the summer, which drew an enormous crowd of people, demonstrated the amplitude of the divergence of opinions.

The then MSZMP leadership critically appraised the past. Its proposed program of democratic socialism was seemingly raising the country to a different level, and pluralism, the multiparty system, and parliamentarianism were strengthening. At the same time, however, the opposition was also strengthening its positions. Here I must mention the role played by the mass media: The press, radio, and television waged the campaign for reassessment of the past with destructive force.

They were, and still are, unable to avoid blatantly anticommunist, anti-Soviet phraseology that meets with neither response nor rebuttal—not even an elementary commentary from the shrinking socialist press. The introduction of Western capital into the mass media, its support for a number of parties, societies, and groups, and the country's foreign debt began to clearly determine the nature and "style" of many processes and decisions.

People began to leave the MSZMP: They either simply returned their party cards or did not pay their dues. Communists' political activeness declined. There were wars of words between some leaders. The results of elections in four districts from which deputies were recalled had a depressing effect: The newly elected deputies were all representatives of opposition movements. The section of the MSZMP that had split by the end of the summer among several platforms and "leaders" clashed in heated debates on the question: What should be done next? The October congress of the MSZMP, which on the second day turned into the congress of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], led to a sharp turning point.

The new left-wing party, the MSZP (it currently has 50,000 members), has got off to a shaky start. That is natural. I have talked to many representatives of the older, middle, and younger generations of party members. It is no accident that the meetings followed this gradation. Most of the older members have not accepted the MSZP. The congress decisions shocked many. Analyzing the reaction among different strata of the population, the workers (of the 1,300 congress delegates, only about 40 were workers), were also shocked. Most of them shrugged their shoulders and said: "Let them do without us!" In the first stage the MSZP was joined by party workers—people from the middle generation, as a rule. A joke was prompted by this: "The new party has a head but no body." What about the younger generation?

There were many young people in the reform circles—the political debating associations which appeared in the MSZMP before the congress. They gave a boost to debates with their fresh outlook and formulas. There were almost 500 young people at the congress. The platform of the Union of Reform Supporters, which remains an influential force in the MSZP, was formed.

Reformers' speeches then sometimes contained extreme, strongly worded, confusing proposals. The breakthrough and sharp turning point would never have been achieved at the congress during the drafting of the MSZP's decisions, program statement, and statutes had it not been for the active influence of another platform: the people's democratic platform. The positive traditions of Hungarian people's democracy of the 1945-1947 period could be the fount, the source of the country's present purification: that is the belief of those who represent this trend. Thanks to this platform, a compromise was evolved at the congress and the majority voted in favor of it.

"But we must be clearly aware that among the reformers and among those who have taken a traditional stand—in other words, in both camps—there are people who see the congress as a defeat," Jozsef Geczi, member of the MSZP Presidium, political scientist, university lecturer, and one of the leaders of the reform circles in Szeged, said in sharing his observations with me.

Our conversation took place in an empty room of the former MSZMP Central Committee building. The apparatus has been sharply reduced in size. Only one-third remains: 60-70 people. And the party city committees, for example, will have just 1-3 paid personnel. What is more, it is the young or middle-aged people who are left. Jozsef Geczi himself is not even 40.

"Many reformers do not recognize the political compromise reached at the congress," Jozsef Geczi explained.

A couple of days after our meeting, opinions on leaving the MSZP and setting up a new, radical party were indeed voiced at a regular meeting of reform circles. Should they join the MSZP or not? This question remains open for those who demanded a sharp change of direction during the party congress.

On the other hand, I also spoke to one of the former secretaries of the Budapest MSZMP City Committee. He has re-registered and become a member of the MSZP. He is 66 years old. He has been in the party since 1942. He believes that the MSZP must also admit experienced communists and do everything possible to ensure that the new party does not develop into an ordinary social democratic or liberal party.

The growing pains experienced by the new party are understandable. It is not a symbiosis of social democratic and communist values but a new, modern organism grown from them and rapidly adapting to circumstances: This is how the MSZP is regarded by one of its founders, MSZP Chairman Rezso Nyers. However, the "growing up" process could be long and contradictory.

The "Left-Wing Socialists" platform was recently organized in the MSZP. This is no accident. The supporters of this platform believe that, under the pressure of circumstances, the MSZP could "swing to the right." They cite the following fact. The government, which includes members of the MSZP Presidium, has proposed to the Hungarian National Assembly that a law be adopted to prohibit the organization and activity of parties in production units and workplaces. But the MSZP Congress adopted a totally opposite decision.

"Is there really a danger of a slide to the right?"

"The danger is real," Gabor Zentai, one of the platform's organizers and first secretary of the Ujpest (the fourth region of the capital) MSZP Executive Committee, replied. "And it will be particularly serious if progressive MSZMP forces continue to refuse to join us, the MSZP."

In the worker region of Ujpest just 506 of the 6,900 former MSZMP members have registered with the MSZP. Gabor Zentai said that, by virtue of its openly left-wing policies, his platform will remove the distrust of those who, regarding themselves as nonparty communists, are still afraid to join the MSZP.

The "Left-Wing Socialists" platform speaks in favor of broad cooperation with groups continuing to see themselves as loyal to the MSZMP.

There are several such groups. According to rough estimates, some 200,000 people have already registered with them. In the middle of December they intend to hold the 14th MSZMP Congress, which is to be a unification congress. The first issue of the MSZMP newspaper, SZABADSAG (FREEDOM), was published recently.

"We are convinced that there is a need for a renewed MSZMP that will protect the political rights of workers, peasants, and members of the intelligentsia who do not agree with the MSZP," Laszlo Udvarkheyn [surname as transliterated], one of the new MSZMP organizers and deputy general director of the Kultura foreign trade enterprise, said to me.

"Communist ideas," he told me, "have not ceased to exist because they have been abused. The policies of the new MSZMP will be inspired by genuine rather than dogmatic Marxism-Leninism. We are against manipulations in the press. After all, we have more than once witnessed the 'television effect,' whereby the opinion of a narrow circle was imposed on everyone. We are against the discrediting of the MSZMP and modern Marxism."

Representatives of the MSZMP want to unite left-wing forces during the election campaign.

"Unity of action by left-wing forces can be created even by several parties," Karoly Grosz, a prominent figure upholding the MSZMP cause, said.

I also think that the the MSZP, the MSZMP, and other left-wing forces will find "bridges" for linking up and channeling their energy in the same direction, the direction needed by the Hungarian people, although the danger of "fratricidal," divisive clashes is real. But without a strong socialist movement there is no democracy in Hungary: This has been said more than once by both the MSZMP leadership and R. Nyers.

"If Karoly Grosz and his comrades work to organize a renewed MSZMP, that is natural, that is possible," R. Nyers said recently. "They must work in line with the Constitution and register on the basis of the law on parties. I, for my part, can see problems in their activity as simple continuers of the MSZMP, because in reality the MSZMP's path has forked. The majority of delegates to the MSZMP congress accepted the decision to transform the party into the MSZP. In its decision the congress made the MSZP the inheritor of the MSZMP's rights. So, in fact, we can say that the congress minority is trying to 'continue' the MSZMP, and this, it seems to me, must be pointed out somehow. We, too, are heirs of the MSZMP, although we are not simply continuing the policies of the old party but thoroughly reforming these policies."

At the moment, however, left-wing forces have not achieved unity of action. This was shown by the 26 November Hungarian national referendum, called by the Union of Free Democrats. Forty-two percent of citizens with the right to vote boycotted the referendum at the call of the Hungarian Democratic Forum. And 50.1 percent of those who took part answered "yes" to the question "Should the president be elected after the elections to parliament?"—thereby failing to support the viewpoint of the MSZP, the MSZMP, or parties in solidarity with them.

There is no doubt that the coming days and months will bring with them the gusty winds of the new road along which the "Hungarian car" is rushing. Its motor has begun knocking loudly. What is more, there is not enough money for "repairs." Will the motor hold out? There is talk of more price increases. A number of state enterprises are being "privatized," which is giving rise to a wave of unemployment. And the burden of foreign debt weighs heavily on the country.

"International financial organizations are still demanding that the government take economic measures that have a politically destabilizing influence," one MSZP document frankly says. But will the new drivers who take over the "controls" have sufficient ability to calmly and soberly lead the crew without skidding to the right or left?

Observing all the ups and downs of the path being taken by Hungary, I still think the car will make it. Neither the left-wing movements nor those in opposition to them want the situation to get out of control; they all want the situation to remain stable and the consistently developing parliamentary democracy to firmly serve the task of peaceful renewal. But the most important point is that, by announcing a program for this renewal and the building of democratic socialism, both the MSZP and other left-wing forces are the sober-minded, dynamic force that will help establish law and order and emerge onto the highway of progress.

## RCP's Ceausescu Thanks Gorbachev for Greeting

*PM0512163589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Dec 89 Second Edition p 2*

[Romanian President N. Ceausescu message: "To Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Gorbachev,

I thank you for your congratulations on my reelection as general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP]. I wish Soviet Communists successes in implementing the decisions of the 27th Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, and I wish the peoples of the Soviet Union peace and prosperity.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary

## Military Leaders Welcome Poland's Siwicki

*PM0512163789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Dec 89 First Edition p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Official Visit"]

[Text] On 4 December Army General F. Siwicki, member of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee and Polish national defense minister, arrived in the Soviet Union on an official visit at the invitation of Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR defense minister.

At the airport the guest and his entourage were greeted by Army General D.T. Yazov; Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister; Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, USSR deputy defense minister; and other officials.

The welcoming party included Brigadier General A. Czernow, military attache at the Polish Embassy in the USSR.

The Polish and Soviet state flags were flying at the airport. An honor guard was drawn up on the tarmac and the two country's national anthems were played.

On the same day Army General D.T. Yazov had a meeting with Army General F. Siwicki at the USSR Defense Ministry. During a warm and friendly conversation they discussed a number of questions of mutual interest.

Army General F. Siwicki laid a wreath at the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum. A wreath was also laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier near the Kremlin Wall.

Army General D.T. Yazov gave a dinner in Army General F. Siwicki's honor.

### Supreme Soviet Deputies Leave for SFRY 4 Dec

*PM0612100589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Departure for Yugoslavia"]

[Text] On 4 December a group of USSR people's deputies—members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Questions of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and of the Development of Management and Self-Management—led by T.N. Dudko, secretary of the committee, left for Yugoslavia at the invitation of the SFRY Federal Assembly to exchange work experience.

## West Europe

### Shevardnadze, FRG's Genscher Hold Moscow Talks

#### Arms Control Issues Discussed

*LD0512133189 Moscow TASS in English 1318 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Moscow December 5 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent:

Current negotiations between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his visiting West German counterpart Hans-Dietrich Genscher revealed a high degree of similarity in approaches and estimations of disarmament problems.

The ministers underlined the need to further the disarmament process so that it does not lag behind the progress in the political sphere.

The West German side noted the conclusion of a relative document would be significant. The side also expressed its interest in the successful outcome of the negotiations on nuclear and space weapons and signing the treaty on strategic offensive weapons reduction in 1990.

The Soviet side confirmed that it is making energetic efforts to reach this goal.

The ministers expressed their desire for the earliest possible signing and enforcement of a convention banning chemical arms. They called for concluding preparations for such a conference next year. The sides believe that it is necessary to cease all production of chemical weapons after the convention enters into force.

Shevardnadze and Genscher confirmed their countries' desire to reach agreements on the reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe in Vienna next year.

They said that calling a meeting of participants in the negotiations at the foreign ministers' level would give an important political impulse to this process.

The signing of the agreement could take place during the second half of 1990 at the summit level.

Shevardnadze explained that, in the Soviet side's opinion, this summit could be attended by heads of all 35 countries that participate in the European process. The meeting, alongside the signing of an agreement on conventional weapons, could be devoted to the discussion of the present and the future of Europe.

The ministers also discussed in detail the current situation in Europe.

#### Further on Arms Control Discussion

*LD0512133989 Hamburg DPA in German 1259 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—The foreign ministers of the FRG and the USSR, Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Eduard Shevardnadze, expect "interesting results" after their exchange of views. This was announced by the Federal Foreign Ministry spokesman after the conclusion of today's 3-hour talks between the two ministers in Moscow. Genscher and Shevardnadze had described their meeting, involving only the two of them, as "positive, useful, and important." Genscher will later meet state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

The two foreign ministers strongly reaffirmed the importance of the military alliances in Europe. They have an "important function for preserving stability in Europe." Disarmament should "not hobble along behind the dynamic political developments," the spokesman quoted the two men as saying. A "reduction of military elements could, in addition, expand the possibilities for political and economic cooperation."

Genscher and Shevardnadze also signed two agreements. In addition to the building of a prosthetic equipment center within the framework of reconstruction aid for earthquake-damaged northern Armenia, there was an agreement reached on cultural exchanges. It is regarded as remarkable in German delegation circles, in view of the problem of Berlin, that the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra will in the future appear in the USSR under the same conditions as ensembles from the FRG. The agreement is valid for 3 years.

#### Shevardnadze Sees Kohl 'Diktat' to GDR

*LD0512210889 Moscow TASS in English 2046 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Moscow December 5 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and West German Deputy Federal Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, on an official visit in Moscow, conducted negotiations at the Soviet Foreign Ministry today.

In the opinion of both sides, there was a beneficial discussion of most important and topical problems.

The main attention was given to European development, to complex political and socioeconomic processes developing of late and rapid changes taking place.

The conversation which had an open and straightforward nature has not bypassed highly sensitive aspects of this evolution, positive on the whole, the approach to which requires a high sense of responsibility.

The attempts to take advantage of difficulties in perestroyka processes in socialist countries to serve unilateral, egoistic purposes, without consideration for long-term European interests, might jeopardise considerable positive experience accumulated, stability and peace in Europe, Shevardnadze said.

In this context the Soviet foreign minister pointed out actions of some circles in West Germany with regard to the German Democratic Republic, actions fraught with dangerous consequences.

He said it is impermissible to make further development of relations with the other German state dependent on the fulfillment of a whole number of conditions in affairs that are strictly in the competence of the German Democratic Republic, including conditions demanding changes of the foundations of the republic's social and political structure.

From the viewpoint Shevardnadze analysed in detail the ten points of West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, emphasising particularly the provisions bordering on the outright diktat with regard to the German Democratic Republic.

There can hardly be a different view of the demands to introduce "irreversible" changes in the political and economic systems of the German Democratic Republic and bar the Socialist Unity Party of Germany from power.

As regards the idea of creating a "confederation" of the two German states, now advanced in West Germany, this can only increase turmoil in present-day conditions, when there is a need for caution and a balanced approach and when people should not be unnerved.

The Soviet side believes it is unacceptable when the sovereign German Democratic Republic is being told in what way and in what forms it should build its relations with the other German state.

Acting in the Helsinki spirit, the leadership of the German Democratic Republic took the road of broad reforms, profound renewal [passage indistinct].

This mode of action would organically combine with the mainstream development in present-day Europe, the all-European process.

It is precisely in its framework that complex problems arising now should be resolved. Artificial speeding up of events can bring about unpredictable consequences.

On his part, Genscher spoke in a sense that the West German Government views processes of renewal in socialist countries, among them the German Democratic Republic, as one of the composite parts of positive change in Europe, and is interested in these processes proceeding without upheavals and not leading to the destabilisation of the sitaution in the centre of Europe.

He asserted that the West German Government adheres to the principles of the Helsinki Final Act in all its aspects and to treaties with socialist countries.

On the whole, the exchange of opinions on European and German affairs was timely and useful, and the West German side was fully informed of the Soviet stand.

Genscher said that West Germany and its allies are satisfied with the results of the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush.

A new major step was taken along the road of East-West rapprochement, a better understanding in disarmament problems and settlement of reigonal issues.

Progress in Soviet-American relations will have a beneficial effect on the entire international situation.

There was a substantive exchange of opinions on disarmament problems. The ministers declared in favour of the negotiating process not lagging behind the political development.

Progress on this important direction will make it possible to reduce the share of military elements in East-West relations, to widen the scope for cooperation in the economic, ecological and other areas.

Genscher expressed interest in a successful conclusion of the talks on nuclear and space arms. He declared that a treaty on strategic offensive arms be signed as early as in 1990.

The Soviet side briefed Genscher on the efforts it takes in the negotiations on nuclear and space arms with the United States towards their early and effective conclusion. The analysis of the state of affairs at the talks on banning chemical weapons confirmed again the confidence in the position of the sides of the given matter.

It was noted that the joint statement coordinated by the foreign ministers of the USSR and West Germany in June 1989, regarding efforts to ban chemical weapons, provides a good basis for the deepening of interaction of the two countries in these efforts and intensification of their dialogue.

The Soviet Union and West Germany are interested in an early conclusion and coming into effect of a convention on comprehensive and verifiable ban on chemical weapons as a priority goal for their efforts towards arms limitation and disarmament.

The ministers declared for an early conclusion of the drafting of this convention and instructed their delegations at the talks to promote this goal.

The production of chemical weapons, including binary weapons, should be terminated after the convention goes into effect.

The sides profoundly analysed the course of the talks on the reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe, where a number of serious questions remain uncoordinated.

Both sides expressed some considerations regarding solutions of the questions of aviation of the anti-aircraft defence, training aircraft, zonal restrictions and arms stockpiling.

Shevardnadze and Genscher reached a consensus that the Vienna talks should be sped up. A meeting of foreign ministers of the participating countries could give a good political impetus to the talks.

The Soviet Union and West Germany are in favor of reaching an agreement on conventional armaments as early as next year and of its being signed at the summit level .

Shevardnadze explained in this connection that in the opinion of the Soviet side, the leaders of all European states, of the United States and Canada should participate in this summit.

They could simultaneously hold a large-scale discussion of problems of Europe's present and future. In other words, this means bringing closer a European summit, Helsinki-2.

Genscher answered that West Germany in principle favours this idea but believes that such a meeting requires a thorough preparation.

During a substantive exchange of opinion on matters of bilateral cooperation the sides confirmed common interest in a transition to a really new quality in relations between the USSR and West Germany.

This means translating into practical deeds a positive impetus given to Soviet-West German relations by an exchange of visits at the summit level and the signing of a joint statement.

When the state of affairs with the implementation of agreements reached at the summit level was discussed, it was noted that there was certain progress in some areas, while problems and difficulties persisted in others.

The sides declared in favour of stepping up efforts for the implementation of existing arrangements and preparation for the signing of new agreements regarding important directions of cooperation between the Soviet Union and West Germany.

The ministers agreed that constant attention should be given to the further development of mutually advantageous economic cooperation, first of all to new forms of interaction.

Despite substantial positive changes in the area, the general state of economic ties is not yet commensurate with the existing opportunities opened by the process of perestroyka in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet side noted the need to establish practical cooperation in such topical and promising areas as ecology, space, aircraft construction, communications for which there is a need for additional political impulse in the spirit of the arrangements reached in Bonn.

During the negotiations the sides heard and endorsed reports of heads of mixed working groups formed for the period of the visit to discuss bilateral relations, economic and humanitarian cooperation, disarmament problems and settlement of regional conflicts. The ministers pointed to great oppotunities for the widening of joint efforts of the Soviet Union and East Germany in these areas.

The sides, specifically, expressed the striving to outline possible areas of joint or parallel efforts to promote political settlement of conflict situations in various areas.

The sides expressed satisfaction over the fact that an agreement on trade and commercial and economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and the European communities had been worked out. The agreement creates a broad basis for economic interaction in Europe.

The importance of the early beginning of its implementation was emphasised.

The sides expressed the readiness to cooperate in the solution of practical matters connected with the preparation of conditions for the Soviet Union's entry in the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and GATT. There is a mutual understanding that the process of shaping relations between the Soviet Union and GATT could be started in 1990.

The sides support the development of contacts of Soviet experts with these organisations, as well as with the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), specifically for the purpose of ensuring compatibility of basic economic indices as the starting point for cooperation.

Upon the conclusion of the negotiations, Shevardnadze and Genscher signed a programme of cultural cooperation between the Soviet Union and West Germany for 1990-1992, and exchanged the letters about coming into effect of the intergovernmental agreement on setting up the centre for making prosthetic appliances in Yerevan.

## Gorbachev, Genscher Discuss Europe, GDR

*PM0612120589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 89 Second Edition p 1*

[TASS report: "Meeting Between M.S. Gorbachev and H.D. Genscher"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev met H.D. Genscher, FRG deputy federal chancellor and minister of foreign affairs, 5 December. A direct, frank, and full discussion was held in the course of which the most important questions of

European and world politics were touched upon with due account for the processes unfolding in Europe and the world.

M.S. Gorbachev drew the attention of his interlocutor to the fact that under the conditions of the changes taking place, which are basically positive in character and pave the way for an East-West rapprochement, it is particularly important to maintain international stability and strengthen security. This presupposes restraint, responsibility, and thoughtful actions on the part of all states, and loyal cooperation on the basis of generally accepted principles.

H.D. Genscher, in turn, assured him that the FRG Government is firmly committed to the course defined by the principles of the Helsinki process and the treaties concluded by the FRG with The USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the GDR to which it intends to adhere in the future, acting on the basis of recognizing existing realities. The inviolability of borders is the basis of all life in Europe, he said.

Within this context, questions of the relations between the two sovereign German states—the GDR and the FRG—were touched upon. M.S. Gorbachev said the Soviet Union considers the GDR a reliable ally and important guarantor of peace and stability in Europe and will display solidarity and support toward it. H.D. Genscher emphasized that the Federal Republic leadership understands the crucial nature of this point in time and respects the sovereign right of the GDR people to decide questions pertaining to the development of the republic on their own, without outside interference. The FRG is striving toward improved relations with the GDR.

The FRG, the deputy federal chancellor said, proceeds from the need to maintain stability on the continent and further develop and deepen the all-European process as a guarantee of this stability.

Both sides expressed the desire to continue and develop the dialogue and cooperation between their two countries on the basis of the principles enshrined in the joint declaration adopted during the Bonn summit.

The conversation was attended by K. Blech, FRG ambassador to the USSR, and D. Kastrup, head of the FRG Foreign Ministry Second Political Department; and by E.A. Shevardnadze and V.V. Zagladin on the Soviet side.

## Genscher Briefs Press on Talks

*LD0512192189 Moscow TASS in English 1830 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Moscow December 5 TASS—West German Deputy Federal Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, on an official visit in the Soviet Union, told a news conference at the Soviet Foreign Ministry Press Centre that his conversation with Mikhail Gorbachev today was important and useful.

Genscher said he had set out the West German Government's stand on European problems, on East-West relations. He said this policy is based on treaties West Germany concluded with a number of states—the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the treaty on basic principles of relations with the GDR.

The minister said he believed West Germany can make a substantial contribution to stability in Europe. He emphasised West Germany's special responsibility in this matter, stemming not only from its history, but also from its geographic position and role in Europe.

Genscher said West Germany hopes that reforms in the Soviet Union and other East European countries proceed unhampered.

"We want to maintain stable conditions for these processes. This is why we declared jointly with our allies in Brussels yesterday that in no case would we strive to derive unilateral advantage from the problems that inevitably arise during the process of reforms," he said.

The West German foreign minister pointed out the importance of efforts to reduce military elements in East-West relations.

"We are confident that the existing alliances will still be needed for a long time, but their political significance will expand," he said.

Genscher welcomed the results of the unofficial Soviet-American meeting off Malta.

Regarding West Germany's relations with the Soviet Union, he expressed West Germany's interest in continued cooperation with the Soviet Union and emphasised the importance of these relations not only for the situation in Europe, but also for international development in general.

Answering a question, Genscher said that West Germany does not intend to interfere in the internal affairs of the German Democratic Republic. He said Germans in the GDR should decide themselves what system they wish to build and how their relations with West Germany will develop.

"We are interested in the GDR's stable development," the minister said. "West Germany's policy is motivated by respect for the sovereignty of every country, and this applies also to the German Democratic Republic," he said.

## Yakovlev, Genscher Hold 'Frank' Talks

*LD0512201589 Moscow TASS in English 1904 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Moscow December 5 TASS—Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee, today received Deputy Federal Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

In a frank conversation they discussed the current state and prospects of Soviet-West German relations.

### Genscher Attends Luncheon; Meets With Primakov

*LD0512211589 Moscow TASS in English 2018 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Moscow December 5 TASS—A luncheon was given today for West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher on behalf of his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze.

The luncheon was attended by Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union and alternate Politburo member, and other officials.

In the afternoon Genscher had a meeting with Primakov.

The West German foreign minister gave a news conference at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Press Centre.

The minister also laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier near the Kremlin Wall.

### Genscher Visit, European, German Issues Viewed

*LD0512022789 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 4 Dec 89*

[Viktor Glazunov commentary]

[Text] The West German Foreign Minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, is due to start his first day of talks in Moscow today. Commentary by Viktor Glazunov.

[Begin Glazunov recording in Russian, fading into superimposed English translation] Mr Genscher's current visit is of special interest, given that both Europe and German affairs are most likely to dominate the talks in Moscow. The process of reform in socialist countries, including the German Democratic Republic, faces the need for a rethinking of prospects in Europe and relations between the two German states. The dilemma now is over German unity. Chancellor Kohl of West Germany suggested (?confederative) structures as part of a plan towards reunification, which East German leaders say is not on the agenda, (?albeit) appreciating parts of the chancellor's speech relating to further cooperation between the two states.

Since the question is one of European stability, an open dialogue is needed. For the moment, cooperation between the two Germanys has been held within the framework of all-European process, widely known otherwise as the Helsinki process, which could be disrupted if moves are taken now to merge two Germanys by tipping the existing balance. Europe as it is now, including its frontiers and the existence of two German states, is the result of a certain historic period, and history alone will shape their destiny.

Meanwhile it (?looks) dangerous to try to push the events to one side's advantage alone. Attempts in the past to resolve the German issue with no regard for other countries' security each time ended in a tragedy, so other interests and the prospects of the all-European process must be taken into account when contemplating a solution of the German issue.

If there's anything that's long overdue in the light of recent developments, it's not German reunification but a new Helsinki-style European summit conference. All Europeans, including Germans on either side, would do well to contemplate about the shape of a European home in the next 5 to 10 years, in which the destiny of the two German states would no doubt find its logical solution.

Mr Genscher's talks in Moscow would give a chance for comparing each other's positions, and some sort of understanding may well be reached, given his experience and his usual sense of realism. [end recording]

### FRG's Kohl Cited on Disarmament, Ties With GDR

*LD0512181689 Moscow TASS in English 1701 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Bonn December 5 TASS—Expeditious far-reaching steps in the field of disarmament and arms control were favoured by West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

The Vienna talks on conventional arms in Europe, confidence-building measures and an agreement on the universal and total ban on chemical weapons are all of great importance, the chancellor said in his address to representatives of the business community in Pforzheim.

The chancellor said that the reinforcement of the disarmament process was necessary to overcome the division [of] Europe.

Noting that profound political and economic changes in Europe are progressing at breakneck speed, Kohl pointed out that a decisive prerequisite of these changes is the reform policy pursued by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

Speaking about the developments in the German Democratic Republic, the chancellor reiterated his support for East German Prime Minister Hans Modrow's proposal concerning an agreed community of the two German states.

Kohl repeated his proposal to strive for a stage-by-stage reunification of Germany with the reservation that today no one knows what the future Germany will be like.

He stressed that the development of relations between the East and West Germanys would depend on the common European process and East-West relations.

The West German chancellor expressed the readiness of his government to conclude an agreement on trade and cooperation with the German Democratic Republic soon.

## Vorontsov Receives FRG's Schlagintweit

*LD0512031889 Moscow TASS in English 2056 GMT 4 Dec 89*

[Text] Moscow December 4 TASS—Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy Soviet foreign minister, today received chief of the Third Political Department of the West German Foreign Ministry Reinhard Schlagintweit in the framework of Soviet-West German consultations held in connection with the visit in the Soviet Union of West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. There was an exchange of opinions on the situation in Afghanistan and around it.

## Gorbachev, Mitterrand 6 Dec Talks Previewed

### Talks To Focus on European Situation

*LD0512173889 Moscow TASS in English 1448 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Moscow December 5 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent: The brief working meeting between Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and President Francois Mitterrand of France, to be held in Kiev tomorrow, will continue an active Soviet-French top-level dialogue on key issues of international and European politics.

The two leaders will focus attention on the situation in Europe, specifically its central part, in the light of the current sociopolitical changes.

Both sides favour the establishment of an atmosphere that would be conducive to a constructive solution of problems, the consolidation of stability and security and the prevention of an unpredictable course of events.

The two sides' views are increasingly similar on the important issue of regional conflicts and on a fair and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East, Cambodia and other volatile regions.

The exchange of views in Kiev will be especially interesting and important because France chairs this year the leading bodies of the European Community.

As far as the East European countries are concerned, the extraordinary meeting of the heads of the EC countries held at Mitterrand's initiative in Paris on November 18 was a significant outcome of the Community's activities over the past six months.

The decisions adopted at the meeting are related to the establishment of a bank for the development and modernisation of the socialist countries and a personnel-training fund.

It is in this context that one should consider the completion last November of talks on drafting an agreement on trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and the European communities.

The ten-year agreement would envisage the reciprocal granting of most-favoured nation status. The draft agreement rests on the balance of interests and is equitable and mutually beneficial in character.

The USSR highly values the stance of the French leaders who praise the idea of building an "all-European home" and taken an active part in promoting the Helsinki process.

### Elysee Spokesman Comments

*LD0512205589 Moscow TASS in English 1730 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Paris December 5 TASS— A working meeting between President Francois Mitterand of France and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to be held in Kiev on Wednesday will become an important event at a favourable moment, spokesman for the Elysee Palace Hubert Vedrine told a news conference here.

He emphasized that the talks between the two leaders will be devoted above all to European problems: Disarmament, questions of ensuring stability and the prospects opening to Europeans due to democratic changes in Europe.

In short, Europe's future will be central to the fifth meeting between the two leaders since 1985, Vedrine said.

The spokesman said that these negotiations will enable the sides to exchange their views about changes in Eastern Europe.

He said France wants the changes to remain peaceful. In no case should they disturb stability in Europe, Vedrine said.

The so-called "German question" will also be discussed in Kiev, in connection with a recent statement by West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl who advanced a plan for the stage-by-stage unification of Germany.

The meeting in Kiev will offer an opportunity to discuss the prospects for speeding up the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe and the Geneva talks on chemical weapons.

The Middle East settlement and the situation in Lebanon will also be discussed.

Vedrine said that two days before the opening of a session of the Council of Europe at the level of heads of state and government in Strasbourg, Mitterand intends to call the attention of the Soviet President to West European project for aid to East European countries and the aims of the community in this connection—the consolidation of EC member-countries that are striving at the same time for "solidarity with the East."

## PRAVDA Previews Meeting

*PM0512202589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 89 First Edition pp 1,4*

[Own correspondent V. Bolshakov dispatch under the general heading "On Eve of Visit": "Paris"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The focal point of international events is switching to Kiev for a day. It is there today that a meeting will take place between President Francois Mitterrand of France and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Our correspondent in Paris talks about what is expected from this event.

Soviet-U.S. summits have more than once aroused a certain envy and even resentment among America's European allies. This time, too, before the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and G. Bush in Malta there were repeated warnings in the West European press, including the French press, of a possible "superpower deal," a "repeat of Yalta," and the "intention" of the Soviet and U.S. leaders to "settle Europe's fate without Europe" or "at its expense."

Right-wing circles here also fear withdrawal of the U.S. troops from Europe. But why?

Guy Sorman, a well known French current affairs specialist, is right when he claims that by no means everyone in France is prepared for the loss of such a familiar and convenient "enemy without" as the "perfidious Bolsheviks." And Malta, where a new era in East-West relations was proclaimed, clearly took by surprise those who for years built policy and their own careers on "exposing that enemy." But it is not just that the "Soviet threat" no longer works in the attempt to mobilize public opinion in support of the arms race. As L'HUMANITE writes, Malta posed as clearly as possible the issue that the other NATO countries, with France among them, should become most actively involved in the disarmament process. People in France are ready for that, though, unfortunately, not all of them.

Paris believes that the process of building a "single Europe," scheduled for completion in 1992, does not contradict the USSR's ideas of the future Europe as a community of sovereign democratic states with a high degree of interdependence, open for the exchange of goods, technologies, and ideas, and for the broadest contacts between people. Speaking in Rome, M.S. Gorbachev stressed that processes of this scale are the result of the different trends and effects of historical cooperation [sotvorchestvo].

By longstanding tradition, France has been a most active prime mover of that cooperation for us. Now, when France chairs the EEC, that role is doubly valuable.

A briefing on the results of the talks with G. Bush is one of the main items on the agenda of this one-day working meeting, but not the only one. The rapidly changing situation in the East European countries, the Council of Europe session due on 8 December, the problems of EEC-CEMA mutual relations, and the development of general European cooperation [sotrudnichestvo] and Soviet-French relations are by no means the full list of questions the Soviet and French leaders will be discussing in one form or another in Kiev. These working meetings also give rise to cooperation [sotvorchestvo] in the building of the common European home and during them the laws are elaborated that will shape the life of the future Europe, which is now ridding itself of the age-old threat of wars and confrontation that hung over it like a Sword of Damocles.

Helene Carrere d'Encausse, a Sovietologist well-known both in France and abroad, writes in an article unambiguously entitled "Gorbachev's Revolution," that before the present generation's eyes "a new order is being born in Europe and throughout the world." That particular term—"new order"—has unfortunately been discredited more than once before in Europe's past. Now the time has come not only to rehabilitate it but also to implement a new structure of mutual relations between countries with different social systems on the basis of trust and cooperation, not on the basis of policy "from a position of strength" and the "cold war."

## Kiev Itinerary Outlined

*LD0612093889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0740 GMT 6 Dec 89*

[Text] Kiev, 6 Dec (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and President Mitterrand of France arrive in the capital of the Soviet Ukraine today for a short working visit. The present talks are a continuation of the active Soviet-French political dialogue at summit level on the most important issues of the situation in Europe and the world.

In July this year the Soviet leader paid an official visit to France. Now there is to be another meeting, this time on Soviet soil.

At the center of attention of the meeting's participants will be the situation in Europe in light of the sociopolitical changes taking place on the continent. Both France and the Soviet Union favor the creation in Europe of an atmosphere conducive to the constructive solution of problems that arise and to the consolidation of stability and security on the continent.

The forthcoming exchange of opinions between Mikhail Gorbachev and Francois Mitterrand is giving rise to particular interest since it is being held after the meeting of heads of state and government of EC member countries, which was held in November this year on the initiative of Paris and which discussed European affairs, and immediately after the unofficial Soviet-U.S. summit in Malta.

The meeting in Kiev will only last a few hours, but its schedule is extraordinarily full. As well as the talks between the two leaders, it is envisioned that Mikhail Gorbachev will give a dinner in honor of Francois Mitterrand, and a press conference on the results of the meeting. It is also expected that the French president will visit some of the city sights, specifically the Kiev Pechera Monastery, where the first cave monastery in Russian was founded in 1051, and the Stone Sofia Cathedral, a world-famous 11th century historical and architectural monument.

### International Expert Gives Briefing

*LD0612143589 Moscow TASS in English 1403 GMT 6 Dec 89*

[Text] Kiev December 6 TASS—Today's brief Soviet-French working summit in Kiev is an exceptionally important milestone in the development of Soviet-French cooperation and interaction in a variety of fields, Andrey Grachev, member of the Soviet delegation at the talks, deputy head of the international department of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, told a briefing here on Wednesday. It also represents a vital stage in the development of relations between East and West in the global and European context, he said.

The forthcoming visit is important because it is held against the background of dynamic changes in the world and Europe. Having noted the need to ensure stability and the positive development of world proceses, Grachev said that it is one of the goals of the brief Sovit-French summit.

Grachev also described the recent visit by Mikhail Gorbachev to Italy and his meeting with George Bush off Malta as an important step in this direction. Thanks to the Malta meeting, he said, the political dialogue between the leaders of East and West has a chance not to lag behind the changes in the world, especially in Europe. The Gorbachev-Mitterrand meeting in Kiev precisely aims to invigorate this dialogue.

Grachev stressed that the meeting itself does not have an extraordinary nature. "We regard it as the expression of the need by the two leaders to maintain personal contacts for the discussion of various issues and readjustment in accordance with this policy of their countries."

He said that the initiative to hold the meeting belongs to the French president. In Moscow it was received with satisfaction and met with an immediate positive reaction.

Among the subjects likely to be discussed by Gorbachev and Mitterrand, Grachev named the Soviet-U.S. summit on Malta, events in Eastern Europe and the so-called "German issue".

Grachev stressed that resolving the German issue is primarily the prerogative of two German states. At the same time, it is peculiar in that it is the legacy of the Second World War that affected the fates of all European and many non-European nations. Therefore, many countries, beginning with allied powers, as well as other European nations, should take part in their solution.

Grachev said that Gorbachev and Mitterrand will hold a joint news conference at the end of today's meeting.

### French Official Briefs Zagladin on EC Summit

*PM0112102789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 89 Moscow Edition p 3*

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 24 November a working meeting took place between V.V. Zagladin, adviser to the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and J. Attali, special adviser to the French president. During the friendly conversation, J. Attali briefed the Soviet side on the forthcoming Strasbourg summit of the 23 Council of Europe member-countries and, in particular, on President F. Mitterrand's proposal to set up a European bank.

### Finance Minister Received by Austria's Vranitzky

*PM0412113189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 6*

[TASS report: "Reception of Minister"]

[Text] On 30 November Austrian Federal Chancellor F. Vranitzky received V.S. Pavlov, USSR minister of finances, who is in Vienna on a visit. There was a thorough exchange of opinions on the prospects for the further development of cooperation between the two countries.

G.S. Shikin, USSR ambassador to Austria, took part in the meeting.

### Voronin Tours Istanbul Industrial Center

*LD0112211689 Moscow TASS in English 2014 GMT 1 Dec 89*

[Text] Istanbul December 1 TASS—A visiting Soviet governmental delegation, led by First Deputy Prime Minister of the USSR Lev Voronin, went to see a number of leading Turkish associations and firms in the Istanbul industrial area.

The Soviet delegation familiarised themselves with the Turkish industry's accomplishments in the manufacture of consumer goods, specifically sophisticated-technology durables.

Vast possibilities for large-scale mutually-beneficial bilateral trade and economic cooperation were noted at numerous meetings with firm directors and businessmen.

Voronin met Transport Minister Cengiz Tuncer this afternoon. Some specific questions of the two sides'

interaction in communications were considered in a constructive and friendly atmosphere.

The delegation left for Izmir, a major Turkish industrial cultural centre, later today.

### British Communist Leader Interviewed

*PM0112103389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Nov 89 Second Edition p 6*

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent T. Kolesnichenko and TASS correspondent Yu. Sidorov: "Congress Opens"]

[Text] London, 25 Nov—The 41st Communist Party of Great Britain [CPGB] Congress opened today in the Grand Hall of the City University. The agenda contains a wide range of problems concerning the elaboration of the British Communists' strategy and tactics in today's complex and rapidly changing situation. The report by Martin Jacques, chief editor of the journal MARXISM TODAY and member of the CPGB Executive Committee Political Committee, reveals the essence of the document *Manifesto for New Times,* which contains the CPGB's strategic course.

Following the discussion of the report, the agenda offers such items as "opposition to Thatcherism," attitudes toward the Labor Party, and party electoral strategy.

In an interview for Soviet journalists, CPGB General Secretary Gordon McLennan said: "The congress' chief task is to define the British Communists' place in the general democratic process of struggle for social and political change in Britain. This means that we are prepared, on the basis of pluralism, to cooperate with anyone who advocates the implementation of the people's material well-being and the development of their social and political rights and, in the foreign arena, the elimination of the nuclear threat, real disarmament, and strengthening of European and general security. It seems to me that a unique situation has been created. As a result of the rejection of Stalinism in the Soviet Union, the faulty dogma of seeing social democrats and socialists as 'sworn enemies of the working class' has been banished. Real prospects are now opening up for the widest possible cooperation among all detachments of the working class."

G. McLennan also stressed British Communists' solidarity with the struggle against racism and colonialism and the disgraceful apartheid system in South Africa.

The British Communists' congress will last 4 days. On the final day the delegates will elect new party leading organs.

### 'Fierce Polemics' Reported at PCI Plenum

*PM0112112989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Nov 89 Second Edition p 6*

[Report by own correspondent N. Miroshnik: "Plenum Ends"]

[Text] Rome, 25 Nov—The enlarged plenum of the Italian Communist Party [PCI] Central Committee and PCI Commission on Guarantees has ended. Representatives of the leadership of the Italian Communist Youth Federation and the Italian General Confederation of Labor participated in its work.

The plenum discussed a proposal from PCI Secretary General A. Occhetto on commencing the "founding process" to create, on the basis of the party, a new political organization of leftwing forces, with a new name and emblem.

The proposal gave rise to fierce polemics. Their intensity is illustrated by the fact that the sessions lasted for 5 days. L'UNITA reported that the plenum was addressed by 159 people, and another 96 submitted the texts of their speeches to the Presidium in written form. They will all be published in the party press.

At the end of the debate, the following resolution was approved by a majority vote: "The plenum accepts the PCI secretary general's proposal on commencing the founding process to create a new political organization. The proposal will be submitted for discussion at an extraordinary party congress." Precisely 219 of the 326 members of the Central Committee and Commission on Guarantees who participated in the individual voting backed the resolution; 73 voted against, and 34 abstained. Moreover, those who voted against include a number of prominent party figures and veterans, including Party Chairman A. Natta.

At the same time, the plenum adopted by an overwhelming majority a decision to convene an extraordinary party congress in the early months of 1990, that is, before the local authority elections, set for 6 May. The exact date of the congress will be decided on by the next, plenum of the Central Committee in December.

### Cyprus President Greeted on Independence Day

*PM0112104189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] In connection with the Cypriot people's national holiday—Independence Day—the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has sent a congratulatory telegram to President Y. Vasiliou of Cyprus. The telegram expresses confidence in the further onward development of the traditionally friendly Soviet-Cypriot relations and wishes the Cypriot people successes in the search for a just and lasting settlement in Cyprus. In a reply message President Y. Vasiliou reaffirmed Cyprus's desire to

strengthen relations of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and expressed gratitude for solidarity in the Cypriots' struggle to resolve the Cyprus problem.

## Latin America & Caribbean

### Cuban Human Rights Campaigners' Trial Reported

*PM0112143989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 5*

[Dispatch by A. Kamorin: "Cuba: Echo of 'Case No 1/89'"]

[Text] Havana—As IZVESTIYA has already reported, the trial of three leaders of the so-called "coordinating commission in defense of human rights"—Elizardo Sanchez, Hiram Abi Kovas, and Hugo Jeres—has ended in the Cuban capital.

They were all accused under article 115 of the Republic of Cuba criminal code: "The dissemination of deliberately false and slanderous information threatening the prestige of the Cuban state." In this case it is a question of the stories put forward by the accused concerning the "case No 1/89" trial which ended this summer. Our newspaper wrote in detail about the thrust of this investigation. Let us merely recall that the military tribunal sentenced a group of high-ranking military men headed by General Arnaldo Ochoa to death on a number of convictions including complicity in international drug smuggling.

It must be said that in the Western and particularly the U.S. mass media this trial generated no smaller a wave of comment than "case No 1/89" itself. They present the trial of the leaders of the "coordinating commission" as a reprisal against dissidents. In this connection Cuban First Vice Foreign Minister R. Alarcon convened an urgent press conference to set forth the official version of events. In his introductory speech the Cuban diplomat pointed out that article 115 itself is not an invention of the revolutionary authorities but made the transition to the present code from the legislative acts of the bourgeois republic. He also stressed that the court paid special attention to the defense of the constitutional rights of the accused in full accordance with the norms existing in Cuba.

Answering an IZVESTIYA correspondent's question about the essence of the charges against Sanchez, Abi Kovas, and Jeres, R. Alarcon said:

"The public statements of the accused contained slanderous statements about how the 'case No 1/89' trial had allegedly been a 'settling of political accounts' and 'murder under the mantle of legality.' They also contained absurd stories about how the relations of the four men sentenced to death had allegedly been refused the right to know where they had been buried. I shall merely say that Ministry of the Interior officers who had personally handed the burial documents to the families of the executed men were at the trial. It also emerged that the references of the accused to talks with the relations of the condemned men were without foundation—none of them had agreed to meet with the 'defenders of rights.'"

"I believe," the vice minister continued, "that we are dealing with a handful of liars who represent no one: It looks as though apart from this threesome there was not a single person present at the meetings of the 'coordinating commission' except perhaps for their wives. But they felt the active good graces of their patrons from abroad and were not shy to express themselves."

The court found all three accused guilty and sentenced them to prison terms of 3 years to 10 months.

### Yazov Greets Raul Castro on Army Anniversary

*PM0412105989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Dec 89 First Edition p 1*

[Defense Minister Yazov's greetings to Cuba's Raul Castro on Army anniversary]

[Text] To Army General Comrade Raul Castro Ruz, Cuban Minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and on my own behalf I cordially congratulate you and all Cuban servicemen on the 33d anniversary of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces.

Soviet servicemen make a high assessment of the relations of strong friendship and fruitful cooperation linking our fraternal countries' peoples and armies. We note with profound satisfaction that the army of the Isle of Freedom, absorbing the glorious traditions of Cuban working people's national liberation struggle, reliably stands guard over the Cuban people's revolutionary gains.

I wish you, Esteemed Comrade Minister, and all Revolutionary Armed Forces personnel new successes in your military work to enhance the combat readiness of troops and naval forces and to strengthen Cuba's defense capability.

[Signed] Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister

## Congress of People's Deputies

### Leaders Discuss Upcoming Congress

#### To Convene 12 Dec

*LD0512222989*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1645 GMT on 5 December broadcasts 55 minutes of recordings of a news conference given by Anatoliy Lukyanov, first vice chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Council of the Union; and Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities, concerning the forthcoming Congress of People's Deputies.

The recordings begin with Lukyanov addressing the news conference on the main points of the USSR Supreme Soviet session that ended last week. He says: "The agenda of the session and the content of its work bear out convincingly that, in spite of the view of various kinds of skeptics, the USSR Supreme Soviet is justifying its functions and its purpose and is gaining better and better control of the powers of the country's supreme legislative, executive, and supervisory organ of power. I think one could say that our parliament has already found its feet and has shown that its potential, creative potential is quite great." He goes on to outline the legislative work of the Supreme Soviet session.

Lukyanov goes on: "The second point. A very substantial, I would say, remarkable phenomenon for this session of the Supreme Soviet is primarily the fact that the laws adopted are in their great majority directed toward people. The line is continuing toward a turning point in the entire activity of our state, and this is reflected in the legislation toward the social sphere."

After noting the significance of particular pieces of legislation, he says: "The discussion of many issues, as you know, proceeded in a stormy manner, in an ambiguous manner; there were clashes, there were major debates, but the session showed quite convincingly that there are ways, there are possiblities of finding, in the process of this debate, common solutions, solutions based on consensus, and this is exceptionally important since this work of the Supreme Soviet strengthens the country, the unity of our society, consolidates it, and we attach very great significance to this process."

Lukyanov praises the work of the Supreme Soviet commissions and committee, which has evoked a broad and lively reaction on the part of the population. Nine hundred deputies have taken part in this work. We cannot, of course, start issuing laws as fast as you would bake pancakes, but the existing potential must be brought into play maximally and ties with the population must be strengthened—that is the way for the Supreme Soviet to develop its activities.

The Second Congress of People's Deputies will be convened on 12 December 1989. The agenda of the congress contains nine questions, concerning ratification of mandates of deputies elected after the first Congress of People's deputies. The other issues on the agenda concern measures to improve the economy, the stages of the economic reform, and principled approaches toward working out the 13th 5-year plan and a report by the Council of Ministers on this, which represents the central issue to be debated during the session.

The third issue concerns the introduction of changes and amendments to the Constitution with regard to the issues pertaining to the electoral system. The fourth issue concerns the standing orders of the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies. The fifth issue concerns the draft laws on the status of people's deputies and on "other" questions pertaining to the activities of deputies. The sixth issue revolves round the draft law on constitutional supervision. The seventh issue will resolve round electing the constitutional supervision committee.

The agenda also includes a question of intensifying the struggle against organized crime and reports by commissions set up by the first USSR Congress of People's Deputies. The congress is to last 10 days or so. During the first day it is proposed to organize a presidium and its working bodies, to hear a report by the Credentials' Commission on the newly elected deputies, and to hear Ryzhkov's report "on measures to improve the economy, stages of economic reform, and fundamental approaches toward working out the 13th 5-year plan."

This will then be debated for 4 days, Lukyanov continues. One day will be set aside for the work of sections on the three main chapters of the report. On 16 December it is proposed to discuss my report on the draft law concerning changes to the Constitution as applied to the electoral system. On 18 December it is proposed to discus Primakov's report on the Supreme Soviet's standing order. On 19 december it is proposed to hear Nishanov's report on the draft law on the status of people's deputies and other questions of deputies' work. The question of constitutional supervision will then be discussed. A law must be passed here and then the USSR Constitutional supervision committee must be elected. On 21 December it is planned to hear and discuss a report by the USSR minister of internal affairs on intensifying the struggle against organized crime. Reports on three commissions set up by the first congress will then be heard.

Lukyanov goes on to outline the details of the preparations for the Second Congress of People's Deputies. He says: "I will also tell you that all materials for the congress have now been prepared and the deputies have already received a package of materials for the Congress of People's Deputies. There are also materials on the government report, the proposed order of work, and all draft laws being submitted for discussion by the congress. Deputies received them 2 weeks ago, as was provided for by the standing orders of the congress, the provisional standing orders established at the first congress. This work of the deputies commission will remove

all possibility of saying that the congress was prepared by the apparatus, and will provide, in advance, the possibility of seeing what questions could arise during the congress, the turns there may be in the debates and the discussions, which is exceptionally important."

The floor is then thrown open to questions from journalists. A correspondent from THE NEW YORK TIMES asks what possibility deputies will have of submitting an additional point to the Congress agenda on article 6 of the Constitution, on the leading role of the Communist Party, and asks whether there has been any change in the view on whether to include this point on the agenda or not. Primakov replies: "Well, first, you cited these figures, but you did not say that the proposal to submit article 6 did not gain the necessary majority of votes and the Supreme Soviet did not submit this proposal, so article 6 does not figure on the agenda in the Supreme Soviet's recommendation to the Congress. As concerns article 6 in general, of course, we note a change in the role of the party in the process of perestroyka; we understand that the role of the party is being modernized. It remains the leading force, the vanguard force in our society, but nevertheless, the functions for example, of state leadership are now being implemented by the soviets; the executive organs have their functions, and the role of the party is undergoing a certain modernization. This, consequently, also places on the agenda, perhaps, a change to the relevant article, but this change, we favor it proceeding constitutionally, just as this normally occurs in all civilized countries.

"This, by the way, is not the only article that needs changing in the Constitution, there are also a whole number of other articles. The constitutional commission is working normally and these matters are, of course, not resolved by a show of hands. It is a constitutional process that is under way in the country, and we are against some corrections being made to it that might not consolidate our society, but on the contrary lead to its being divided, which we do not need right now in the process of perestroyka. As concerns the leading role of the party, from our point of view, the preservation of this leading, vanguard role of the party is extremely essential, particularly in the period of perestroyka, and the point is not only that the party inaugurated perestroyka rather than some extra-party force, and the point is not only that the party is implementing perestroyka, rather than some extra-party force, the point is that the party is now the only consolidating force of our society, consolidating the federation, consolidating this progressive movement in favor of renewing socialism." Lukyanov adds: "I think it is clear. If you are also interested in procedural issues, of course the Supreme Soviet wil. submit this for examination by the congress, the congress will discuss and approve the final agenda. But with regard to the position of the Supreme Soviet, it has been expressed clearly and definitely."

There is then a question from the PRAVDA correspondent on the main differences between present contacts between the Supreme Soviet and foreign legislative bodies, and previous such contacts. Primakov replies that the main differences stem from the differences between the present Supreme Soviet and its predecessor, and he goes on to stress the significance of learning from foreign models in the legislative sphere while not necessarily taking on board everything that is done in other countries.

A WASHINGTON POST reporter asks, "You probably know very well that Andrey Sakharov has reported that, perhaps, there will be a strike before the congress on the leading role of the party. How do you assess this?"

Lukyanov responds: "We know that an address by six deputies was published abroad on the matter of the possibility of holding a 2-hour strike I have to say that we had a conversation yesterday, the three of us, with these deputies, and clarified their position on this matter since it runs counter to the view of the Supreme Soviet on strikes. This view was unambiguously expressed in the Supreme Soviet address of 25 July, a very solid document, and in the Supreme Soviet resoluion on the prevention of undesirability of strikes in the autumn and winter period in the key sectors of industry. So, the Supreme Soviet itself has replied to this question, as to whether such an initiative is desirable or underisable."

A correspondent from Soviet Radio asks about the problems posed by people's deputies coming to Moscow for their constituencies for a few days and raising matters which the various committees and commissions thus causing difficulties for the latter's work. Lukyanov replies that he favors the infusion of fresh blood to the work of the committees and commissions porovided by deputies coming in from the localities with their knowledge is actual practice. He concedes that there have been difficulties, but that these have been much less in evidence at this session of the Supreme Soviet.

Supreme Soviet bodies, says Lukyanov, endeavor to ensure that deputies always have all the relevant materials at their disposal. Our sessions are attended daily by between 80 and 100 deputies.

NEWSDAY asks whether the congress can change the agenda or whether it can put matters to a vote only according to the pre-arranged agenda. Lukyanov says that congress is the supreme body of power and it can resolve any matter within its remit and it can examine any matter it wishes.

Bogdanov from IZVESTIYA says a group of Urals deputies intends to ensure that standing orders are strictly observed. Can parliamentary discipline be enhanced? Should not the standing order be examined first? Lukyanov says that temporary standing orders are already in force and deputies already know who is who and who is likely to come out with what speech. He thinks that positive and negative experience of the previous congress will be taken into account. Voting will be almost completely electronic. Anyway, one could get

bogged down on discussions of standing orders. There are more important issues to be debated and the population expects this.

Nishanov then replies to a question on the electronic arrangements, saying the Phillips company was chosen. It only had 400 mobile pieces of equipment—we wanted 800, but each such piece makes it possible for six deputies to vote and we found that satisfactory.

Nishanov says this considerably speeds up the counting of votes. Austrian television is interested in the date of the next plenum. Lukyanov says it is customary for a plenum to he beld before the congress. It is usual for such a plenum to be held the day before. Moscow television is interested in what must be done to placate those deputies who feel that their views have been inadequately reflected by the media. Lukyanov says media must reflect all trends in the parliament more comprehensively: unfortunately we have a relatively small group of deputies, some 40 people, and they are always before the TV cameras. That is why people from other groups get offended. The work of the congress and the Supreme Soviet has received more than 300 hours of airtime. Nishanov says Soviet and foreign journalists ought to pay more attention to deputies from more distant parts.

ABC news is curious whether the Second Congress will be relayed live on television. The ABC correspondent goes on to say that he has heard that Ryzhkov is to make an address on the first day of the congress, and asks when Gorbachev will speak. Lukyanov replies: "I will answer your second question right away. I think that there will certainly be a speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at the congress, and perhaps, just as at the preceding congress, more than once, since he has to open and close the congress. As concerns television transmissions, as was agreed at the commission, the big one of which I have spoken, we have agreed that television transmissions will be from 1800 on one of the television channels to the end, exactly as meetings of the USSR Supreme Soviet are currently broadcast. This unanimous view of the deputies commission stems from the fact that, for example, owing to the fact that there used to be broadcasts of the congress during the daytime, we lost approximately 20 percent of labor productivity, such was the population's interest. As concerns the opening and closing of the congress, they will be broadcast live, directly from the session. But the others—this is the proposal of the commission, I can't say what the congress will decide—but the commission proposes broadcasting from 1800, and to broadcast every session of the congress to the end."

A MAGYAR HIRLAP correspondent asks, "What is your attitude to the fact that one of the Soviet republics, Lithuania, has already renounced the party's vanguard role in its Constitution? This is an altogether new phenomenon."

Primakov responds: "This is evidently a news conference for us, too, because you tell us some sort of news we are unaware of, to the effect that there has been a constitutional repeal of the party's leading role. Indeed, questions are debated in Lithuania, fairly broadly so, concerning the fact that there are suggestions of setting up a party that would not constitute a part of the CPSU, that is to say the Lithuanian Communist Party. This, however, is not an unequivocal view of Lithuania's communists. There exist various viewpoints on this issue and these are being voiced. Evidently this question will be on the agenda of the Lithuanian party's congress, due to be convened in December."

An unidentified speaker says, "No changes to the Constitution have been proposed on this issue, as is known."

Primakov says, "Lithuania is no Hungary."

Primakov then replies to a question from CBS on article six of the Constitution. He says any review of this or other articles is a constitutional process that has already begun. "There are people who wish to sensationalize this matter and this is absolutely not in keeping either with the interests of perestroyka or with our normal movement toward the goals we and our society have proclaimed. "The matter will be discussed at the congress, but this article is not taboo and is not immune to changes. Many articles will be changed. The constitution commission is working on this.

Lukyanov appeals to correspondents to familiarize themselves with the resolution of the first Congress of People's Deputies which reiterates the party's leading role.

Lukyanov continues to speak, stating that voting results are published in bulletins, given to deputies on the following day. These will be published in the shorthand account of the session, as is done in any other parliament. Rotation of posts will be done once a year and will commence with the congress following the Second Congress.

Lukyanov praises the work of interregional deputies' group. They have been working on all pertinent issues. "If some people endeavor to portray the group as a force that criticizes and does nothing else, then it is far removed from an understanding of the tasks the deputies who are members of this group have set themselves. This said, some people within this group would wish only to criticize, as it were, certain decisions, drafts, and so forth. We are for cooperation and dialogue." Members of the interregional group could have taken more part in the discussions of next year's plan and budget.

Primakov says that the journal NARODNYY DEPUTAT has now appeared to cover the work of the Supreme Soviet. This journal will begin to be published as of 1 January once every 20 days. The editor in chief will be Mikhail Ivanovich Iskotin. For a long time he was chief editor of GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO journal. Lukyanov asks why is it that MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI was interested in the work of the interregional group of deputies, while the work of agrarian

deputies, or workers deputies, or veterans, or Afghan veterans, or teachers' group are not regarded as interesting. We have many groups. Journalists ought to see the entire gamut of interests as represented by our deputies. Nishanov then says that as of next year IZVESTIYA will publish a 'SOYUZ' weekly, to cover the life of ethnic groups.

REUTER is interested in what happened to the law on language and to the decision on the former German republic in the Volga area. Nishanov replies that experts helped draft a law on an unconstrained and equal development of languages in the USSR. The USSR Supreme Soviet passed it in first reading. It will be published for nationwide discussion. A number of republics have passed similar laws. The main idea here is to ensure that no impediments are placed here and that all languages can develop freely. The first congress, the Supreme Soviet session, and the CPSU platform on the nationalities policy support this.

The Supreme Soviet has set up a commission to study the ways in which the problem of Soviet Germans can be resolved. As you know we have in the USSR some 2 million Germans. They live in various parts of the country. The commission concluded its work and informed the second session of the Supreme Soviet of this. The Supreme Soviet approved its work and decided to set up an autonomous German formation, but it is up to the government when this will be done. Work on this is currently under way. A declaration was also adopted on a complete political rehabilitation of all peoples repressed by Stalin.

A SOYUZ correspondent is interested in whether the Supreme Soviet legislative work is in keeping timewise with ethnic events in the country. Can if foresee extraordinary emergency situations?

Nishanov replies, saying events are unfolding rapidly because of the inordinate stagnation in this area to date. Time is needed to put things right. Second, the scope of this legislative work is very broad. It is because so many issues have piled up that an impression is created that we cannot keep up with the rapid developments in this area. "But I would say that the Supreme Soviet is on top of the situation and is aware of the acuteness of this question, and I think that we will not begin to lag behind the rapid processes of perestroyka in the area of interethnic relations."

## More on Lukyanov Remarks

*LD0512161189 Moscow TASS in English 1544 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Moscow December 5 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies opening on December 12 will be an important landmark in the country's advance along the road of perestroika and renewal of socialist society.

Anatoliy Lukyanov, first vice-president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, told this to a news conference here today, devoted to the preparation for the congress.

Lukyanov noted that the congress's agenda has been endorsed by Soviet parliament. Its main item is a debate on the government's report about measures for the improvement of the economy, stages of the economic reform and principles of drafting a plan for 1991-1995.

The debate should result in determining the roads of the development of the Soviet economy in the years ahead.

Lukyanov said that the congress is also to discuss supplements and amendments to the Constitution of the USSR on questions of the electoral system, should adopt a law on constitutional compliance and to elect a committee of the USSR on constitutional compliance.

Deputies are to endorse a package of bills regulating the activity of the supreme legislative bodies of the country, and hear reports of the commissions formed at the first congress: on political and legal appraisal of the 1939 Soviet-German non-aggression pact, on checking information connected with the activity of a group of investigators headed by Telman Gdlyan, on the investigation of events in Tbilisi on April 9, 1989 that led to loss of life.

The congress will also discuss measures to step up the effort to combat organised crime. A report on this question will be delivered by USSR Interior Minister Vadim Bakatin.

The final decision on the agenda will be made by people's deputies on December 12, Lukyanov said. The congress is expected to last ten days.

Asked about the possibility of the congress's discussing the question of removing from the Soviet Constitution the article about the leading role of the Soviet Communist Party in Soviet society, Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, told the news conference that this proposal had not received the required majority of votes during the debate in soviet Parliament on the agenda of the congress.

Noting that the functions of the Soviet Communist Party undergo certain modernisation in the course of perestroika, Primakov emphasised that the party's leading role should be preserved. The party is the sole consolidating force of Soviet society and federation.

Lukyanov said that Soviet television will broadcast live the opening and the closure of the second congress.

Other meetings will be broadcast daily from 6 p.m.

### Congress Debate on Economy Previewed

*LD0612084589 Moscow TASS in English 0837 GMT 6 Dec 89*

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Soviet economy is likely to be the focus of discussion at the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies, due to open on December 12.

The congress will hear a report by Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov on measures to revitalise the economy, stages of economic reform and the draft plan for 1991-95.

The measures to be debated are designed to tackle the worsening Soviet economic crisis. Inflationary processes are on the rise and there is an overabundance of money which leads to deep imbalances in the consumer market.

The situation was the subject of many discussions at the autumn session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The session agreed on a number of measures in order to restrain price rises and stabilise the market.

However, these decisions have a purely administrative nature and cannot ensure a major breakthrough, analysts believe. This was also acknowledged by government representatives.

There will be no marked improvement in the situation in the country unless economic methods of management are adopted and the old economic structures are dismantled. The Soviet Parliament has already made the first steps in this direction by passing laws on lease-holding and the economic autonomy of Baltic republics, and by approving the first reading of the laws on ownership, land tenure and local autonomy. However, ways of developing economic reform in the USSR continue to be the focus of discussions.

There are at present three main viewpoints on this problem. The first one advocates modification of the existing administrative-command system as a way of revitalising the economy. This view is supported by a part of the population which still counts on help "from the almighty centre."

Another, diametrically opposed, view calls for immediately going over to a free market. Its proponents believe that such a "shake-up" would be enough to restore the balance in the economy. However this does not allow for the consequences of the inevitable upsurge in social tension.

The government prefers a different option. While advocating radical measures, it counsels caution and says they should be gradually phased in so as not "to rock the boat." It also insists that direct government regulation will remain during the transition period and will be gradually reduced with the development of new relations of ownership and economic incentives.

It is still hard to say which of the three viewpoints will prevail. One thing is certain however, the congress faces keen debates on these problems, which were assigned three out of the ten days of the work of the congress.

## Supreme Soviet Session

### Supreme Soviet Issues Resolution on Press Law

*PM0612111389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 1*

[USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution "On the Draft Law on the Press and Other Mass Information Media"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To approve on the first reading the basic provisions of the draft Law on the Press and Other Mass Information Media.

2. To instruct the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Questions of Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals, and the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on International Affairs to finalize the draft law on the basis of the proposals and observations made at the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

3. To publish the elaborated draft Law on the Press and Other Mass Information Media in the press for discussion.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.
The Kremlin, Moscow, 27 November 1989.

### Draft Law on Press

*PM0512153689 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 3*

["Draft USSR Law on the Press and Other Mass Information Media, Submitted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order and the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals, With the Participation of the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee"]

[Text]

#### Chapter I. General Provisions

Article 1. Freedom of the press

Freedom of speech and freedom of the press, which are guaranteed to citizens by the USSR Constitution, are ensured by means of the equal right of citizens to the free expression of opinions and the reception and dissemination of socially significant information through the press and other mass information media.

The press and other mass information media are free. Censorship of mass information is not permitted.

Article 2. The Mass Information Media

In the present law, mass information means printed and audiovisual reports intended for public dissemination through newspapers, journals, books, television and radio programs, and documentary movies, and in other forms.

The mass information media are represented by the editorial offices of the periodical press and television and radio broadcasting, and also by news agencies and other institutions engaged in the production of mass information.

Article 3. The Language of the Mass Information Media

The mass information media engage in their activity in the languages of the peoples whom they serve or whose interests they represent. The mass information media have the right to disseminate mass information in other languages. Persons belonging to national minorities and regional cultures are guaranteed the right to disseminate and receive mass information in their native language.

Article 4. Production and Economic Activity

A mass information medium is a legal entity, and has rights and duties arising from its activity in the gathering, processing, and dissemination of information.

A mass information medium has the right to carry out production and economic activity in the conditions of economic autonomy and economic accountability.

The procedure for the granting of state subsidies to mass information media is defined by legislation of the USSR and union and autonomous republics.

Article 5. Impermissibility of Abuse of the Free Press

The use of the mass information media to publicize information containing state secrets or other secrets specifically protected by law, to call for the violent overthrow or change of the existing state and social system, to propagandize war or racial, national, or religious exclusivity or intolerance, to disseminate pornography, or to incite the commission of other criminally punishable acts is not permitted.

**Chapter II. Organization of the Activity of the Mass Information Media**

Article 6. Founding Rights

The right to found a mass information medium belongs to state and social organizations, creative unions, and religious, cooperative, and other associations of citizens formed in accordance with the law, and also to labor collectives and citizens of the USSR.

**Variant to the first part of Article 6, proposed by a group of USSR people's deputies:**

**The right to found a mass information medium belongs to state and social organizations, labor collectives, creative unions, and religious, cooperative, and other associations of citizens of the USSR.**

Monopolization of any form of mass information medium (press, radio, television, or others) on the scale of the country, a republic, or an individual region is not permitted.

Article 7. Registration of Mass Information Media

A mass information medium engages in its activity after registration.

An application for registration is submitted, depending on the proposed public, to the appropriate organs of state management of the USSR or union or autonomous republics responsible for questions of publishing activity and television and radio broadcasting or the executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies, and must be examined within 1 month of receipt.

The registration of book publishing houses founded in union (autonomous) republics, krays, or oblasts is carried out by the state organs of the union (autonomous) republics responsible for questions of book publishing.

An application for registration indicates:

1) the proposed public for the mass information medium;
2) the founder;
3) the publisher (publishing house, television or radio station);
4) the title and location of the mass information medium;
5) the mass information medium's program of activity, which should reflect its objectives and tasks;
6) the proposed frequency of publication, maximum size, and sources of finance.

It is prohibited to make other demands in the process of registration.

The right to commence publication of mass information is retained for 1 year from the date on which certification is received. In the event of the expiration of this period, the registration of the mass information medium is deemed invalid and the certificate issued loses its force.

The right to engage in publishing activity without registration belongs to organs of state power—for the publication of official normative and other acts; to ministries and departments—for the publication of normative acts and bulletins of judicial and arbitration practice; and to academic and scientific institutions, enterprises, and organizations—for the publication of literature and documentation necessary to their activity.

Activity relating to the production, by the use of technical means, of printed matter not intended for public dissemination or reproduced in manuscript form does not require registration. In other cases, publishing

activity requires registration according to the procedure stipulated for the mass information media.

Article 8. Refusal To Issue a Certificate of Registration of a Mass Information Medium

Refusal to issue a certificate of registration of a mass information medium is possible only on the following grounds:

1) if the application is not subject to examination by the organ of state management in question;
2) if the application does not meet the requirements stipulated in Article 7 of the present law;
3) if the application is submitted on behalf of the founder by a person not authorized to do so;
4) if the title of the mass information medium or its program is contrary to the provisions of Article 5 of the present law;
5) if the organ in question has previously issued a certificate of registration of a mass information medium with the same title and intended for the same public;
6) if the application is submitted within a year of the date of a court decision on its suspension or cessation.

A refusal to issue a certificate of registration of a mass information medium is conveyed to the applicant in written form, indicating the grounds for refusal as stipulated by the present law.

Article 9. Registration Fee

A registration fee is charged for the issuing of a certificate of registration of a mass information medium. The size of the fee is set by the legislative organs of the USSR or union or autonomous republics.

Article 10. Suspension of the Activity of a Mass Information Medium

Suspension of the activity of a mass information medium, that is, the banning of the publication of one or several issues of a periodical press publication or a directive imposing a break in broadcasting, may follow no later than 3 days after the dissemination of information in violation of Article 5 of the present law or in connection with the violation of the rules for dissemination of official announcements. Suspension is imposed for a period of up to 1 month by a decision of the organ issuing the certificate of registration of the mass information medium.

A break of not more than 1 year in the activity of a mass information medium is possible by a decision of the founder or of the publisher (publishing house) by agreement with the founder.

Article 11. Cessation of the Activity of a Mass Information Medium

Cessation of the activity of a mass information medium is possible only on the following grounds:

1) a decision of the founder by agreement with the publisher (publishing house);

2) a decision of the court in connection with a violation of Article 5 of the present law or the systematic violation of other provisions of the present law in connection with which the organ issuing the registration certificate has been warning the founder or publisher for a year (suspension of activity does not count as a warning).

A mass information medium is deemed to have ceased its activity if more than 1 year elapses without its carrying out such activity. Resumption of activity by the mass information medium requires a new registration certificate.

Article 12. Appeal Procedure

An appeal may be made to the court by the editorial office, founder, or publisher (publishing house) by agreement with the founder, against the refusal to issue a certificate of registration of a mass information medium or against a decision to suspend or stop its activity.

If the refusal to issue a certificate of registration of a mass information medium or a decision to suspend or stop its activity is deemed to be contrary to the USSR Constitution, the constitutions of union or autonomous republics, or the present law, this entails the revocation of the contested decisions and the payment of compensation by the organ that adopted the said decisions for all losses sustained by the founder, publisher (publishing house), and editorial office, including loss of revenue.

Article 13. The Founder and the Mass Information Medium

The founder determines the mass information medium's program of activity, which is implemented by the editorial office on the basis of full professional autonomy. The procedure for resolving disputes between the founder and the mass information medium is stipulated by the editorial statutes.

Article 14. The Editorial Statutes

The editorial statutes are adopted at a general meeting of the editorial office's collective of journalists by a majority of votes in the presence of at least two-thirds of the collective, and are approved by the founder.

Article 15. The Founder and the Publisher (Publishing House)

The publisher may be the founder or may equally be a publishing house or other legal entity offering guarantees of material, technical, and financial backing for the activity of the mass information medium.

If the founder of a mass information medium is not the publisher (publishing house), their relations are governed by contract and by the present law.

Article 16. The Editorial Office and the Publisher (Publishing House)

Production and financial relations between the editorial office and the publisher (publishing house) are based on contracts.

The contract specifies:

the funds for the maintenance of the editorial office;

the proportion of revenue (profit) from the activity of the mass information medium that is placed at the disposal of the editorial office and used at the discretion of its labor collective;

the commitments of the publisher (publishing house) in providing appropriate production, social, and living conditions for the life and work of employees of the editorial office;

other conditions.

Article 17. The Editor and the Editorial Collegium

The editorial office is led by an editor (chief editor) appointed by the founder or elected under the procedure stipulated in the editorial statutes.

The editor (chief editor) represents the mass information medium in relations with the founder, publisher (publishing house), state organs, social organizations, other associations of citizens, and citizens, and also in court.

The editor (chief editor) is responsible for ensuring that mass information that is disseminated complies with the requirements of the present law.

The procedure for the formation of the editorial collegium and its powers are stipulated by the editorial statutes. The chairman of the editorial collegium is the editor (chief editor).

In the event of a disagreement between the editor (chief editor) and the majority of members of the editorial collegium, the dispute is resolved by the founder.

Article 18. Publication Data

Each issue of a printed publication must contain the following information:

1) title of the publication;
2) name or title of the founder;
3) serial number of the edition and date of publication for periodical publications;
4) price (where a publication is commercially distributed);
5) address of the editorial office and publisher (publishing house).

On each occasion of going on the air, or, where broadcasting is continuous, not less than four times every 24 hours, the television or radio editorial office is obliged to announce the following information:

1) name of the television or radio editorial office;
2) surname and forename of the anchorman.

Article 19. Mandatory Copies

Free mandatory copies are sent immediately on printing of the initial print run to the All-Union Book Chamber, the USSR V.I. Lenin State Library, and the founder, and also to the organ issuing the registration certificate for the publication in question, and, on its instructions, to other organs and organizations.

Article 20. Recording of Programs

The television or radio editorial office must:

keep voice [mikrofonnyye] material for 1 year after it is broadcast on the air;

keep a registration log of programs going on the air without prior recording, recording the date, start and end times, subject of the program, and name and surname of the anchorman. The registration log of "live" programs is kept for 1 year from the date of the last entry in it.

Article 21. Other Mass Information Media

The rules laid down by the present law for television and radio broadcasting also apply to other audiovisual mass information media, including those using telecommunications networks, unless the law stipulates otherwise.

The rules laid down by the present law for periodical press publications also apply to other mass information media whose output is reproduced in the form of texts or images in quantities of 1,000 or more copies.

**Chapter III. Dissemination of Mass Information**

Article 22. Procedure for Dissemination of Mass Information Media Output

The dissemination of the output of mass information media registered in accordance with the procedure laid down by the present law is carried out by the publisher directly or on a contractual or other legal basis by communications enterprises or other organizations, and also by citizens and associations of citizens.

Article 23. Authorization of Publication

The dissemination of each individual issue (with its own publication data) produced by a mass information medium is permitted only after the editor (chief editor) has given authorization for its publication.

Article 24. The Print Run

The print run, volume, and frequency of publication of a press publication are determined by the editor (chief editor) by agreement with the publisher (publishing house).

The print run may not be smaller than the number of mandatory copies.

Destruction of a print run is impermissible other than in accordance with a legally valid court decision. In that event the mandatory copies are preserved.

Article 25. Official Announcements

Official announcements by organs of state power and management whose general publication through the mass information media is mandatory under the legislation of the USSR or union or autonomous republics are published by the mass information media founded by the corresponding organs.

A mass information medium is obliged to publish free of charge and within a specified time legally valid decisions of a court or state arbitration organ that contain instructions stipulating their publication through the said mass information medium.

**Chapter IV. Relations Between Mass Information Media and Organizations and Citizens**

Article 26. The Right to Information

Citizens have the right to receive promptly through the mass information media reliable and objective reports on the activity of state organs, social organizations, and officials, and other socially significant information.

The mass information media have the right to receive such information from state organs, social organizations, and officials.

State organs, social organizations, and officials are obliged to provide the mass information media with the available reports and the opportunity to copy documents.

Article 27. Refusal and Deferment of the Provision of Information

The refusal to provide socially significant information is possible only if the said information contains state secrets or other secrets specifically protected by law. A refusal of a written request from a representative of a mass information medium is presented to him in writing within 3 days. The refusal must indicate:

1) the official of the organ or organization who has refused the information;
2) the date of refusal;
3) the reasons why the information requested cannot be separated from information containing state secrets or other secrets specifically protected by law.

Deferment of the provision of information is permissible if the requested information cannot be collected within 3 days. In that event the date by which the information will be made available is indicated. Notification of deferment is presented to a representative of the mass information medium in writing within 3 days.

Article 28. Appealing Against Refusal or Deferment of Provision of Information

An appeal against the refusal or deferment of provision of socially significant information, as well as failure to comply with other requirements of Article 28 [as published] of the present law, may be made to a higher-level body or higher-level official, or to the courts.

Article 29. Use of Copyright Materials and Letters

The use of works of journalism, literature, art, and science by the mass information media is permitted provided that the right to intellectual property, including copyright, is complied with. In the publication of readers' letters, the abridgement and editing of their text is permitted, provided that the sense of the letters is not distorted.

No one has the right to oblige a mass information medium to publish material rejected by the editorial office, unless the law stipulates otherwise.

An editorial office has the right not to reply to letters responding to an item in the mass information medium in question or other letters and appeals whose authors do not indicate that a reply is obligatory.

Article 30. Refutation

A demand for the refutation of reports that do not conform with reality may be submitted to the mass information medium that disseminated the said reports for up to 1 year after publication.

The mass information medium is obliged to publish a refutation unless it has evidence that the reports in question conform with reality.

Article 31. Refusal of Refutation

The dissemination of a refutation may be refused:

1) if the refutation demanded constitutes an abuse of the free press under Article 5 of the present law;
2) if the refutation calls into question facts established by a legally valid decision (ruling) of the court;
3) if the refutation is anonymous;
4) if the reports being refuted are reports for whose publication the mass information medium is not responsible under Article 41 of the present law.

The dissemination of a refutation may be refused if the refutation concerns reports already refuted in the mass information medium concerned.

A refusal by a mass information medium to disseminate a refutation is conveyed in writing to the interested citizen or organization, stating the reasons for the refusal, within not more than 1 month from the date of receipt of the demand for refutation. An appeal against a refusal of refutation may be made to the courts.

Article 32. Special Cases of Nonpublication of Information

A mass information medium is not entitled:

1) to name a person who has provided information on condition that his name is not revealed;

2) to publish information from a preliminary investigation without the written permission of the prosecutor, investigator, or person conducting the inquiry;

3) in the coverage of trials, to publish material jeopardizing the presumption of innocence or preempting the decision of the court;

4) to publish information containing secrets specifically protected by law, unless the law provides for the possibility of their publication with the consent of the persons and organizations whose rights and legitimate interests are affected by the information in question.

The publication of information on the private life of a citizen without his consent is not permitted, unless the information is socially significant. In the event that the court does not deem the said information to be socially significant, moral (nonmaterial) damages are payable in accordance with the present law.

**Chapter V. Rights and Duties of the Journalist**

Article 33. The Journalist

In the present law, journalist means a person engaging in the editing, creation, gathering, or preparation of material for a mass information medium and associated with the said medium through labor or other contractual relations or engaging in such activity on its behalf and with its authorization.

Article 34. The Journalist's Rights

A journalist has the right:

1) to seek, obtain, and disseminate information;

2) to be received, at his request and in connection with the exercise of his professional duties as a journalist, by officials of state organs and social organizations;

3) on presentation of his credentials as a journalist, to be present in natural disaster areas and at rallies, meetings, and demonstrations;

4) to check facts and circumstances in connection with material available to him, with the help of specialists and the social aktiv;

5) to expound his personal opinions and assessments in material intended for mass dissemination;

6) to refuse to prepare material contrary to his convictions;

7) to stipulate that it is not permissible to make amendments, abridgements, or additions to material prepared by him without his consent;

8) to remove his signature from material whose content, in his opinion, was distorted in the process of editorial preparation, or to publish an appropriate rejoinder in the same mass information medium;

9) to stipulate that it is not permissible to break the confidentiality of his pseudonym;

10) to exercise other rights granted to him by the present law.

Interference with the legitimate professional activity of a journalist by officials of state organs and social organizations, or coercion on him to disseminate or to refuse to disseminate certain information, is punishable by law.

Article 35. Accreditation

The mass information media may, by agreement with state organs and social organizations, accredit their own journalists to those organs and organizations.

Organs and organizations that have given a journalist accreditation are obliged to notify him beforehand of sessions, conferences, and other measures held by them or with their participation and to provide him with stenographic transcripts, minutes, and other documents.

Article 36. The Right To Keep Records

In the exercise of his professional duties a journalist has the right to keep records in any way, including the use of audiovisual equipment and movie and still photography, except in cases stipulated by laws of the USSR and the union and autonomous republics.

Article 37. The Journalist's Duties

A journalist has the duty:

1) to implement the program of activity of the mass information medium with which he has a labor relationship;

2) to check the authenticity of the information he reports;

3) to satisfy the requests of persons providing information for the copyrighting [avtorizatsiya] of the utterance quoted if it is being published for the first time;

4) to make known to the editor (chief editor) the limits beyond which the information disseminated may constitute the publication of a state secret or other secret specifically protected by law;

5) to refuse an instruction given to him by the editor (chief editor) or editorial office if it or its fulfillment entails an infringement of the law;

6) to respect the rights and legitimate interests of citizens and organizations, and also to observe other duties arising from the present law.

**Chapter VI. International Cooperation in the Sphere of Mass Information**

Article 38. International treaties and agreements

International cooperation in the sphere of mass information is carried out on the basis of international treaties and agreements concluded by the USSR, the union republics, the mass information media, professional organizations of journalists, and other creative unions.

If an international treaty signed and ratified by the USSR lays down norms different from those contained in the present law, the norms of the international treaty apply.

Article 39. Activity of Representatives of Foreign Mass Information Media and Diplomatic and Other Missions of Foreign States in the USSR

The legal position and professional activity of foreign correspondents and other representatives of foreign mass information media accredited to the USSR, as well as the information activity of diplomatic and other official missions of foreign states in the USSR, are regulated by the USSR Council of Ministers on the basis of the present law and the relevant international treaties of the USSR and agreements.

**Chapter VII. Responsibility for Infringement of Legislation on the Press and Other Mass Information Media**

Article 40. Imposition of Responsibility

Responsibility for the infringement of legislation on the press and other mass information media rests with the founder, publisher, editorial office, and editor (chief editor) of a mass information medium, the authors of disseminated reports, and officials of state and social organizations.

Abuse of the freedom of the press under Article 5 of the present law entails confiscation or destruction of the print run of the output of the mass information medium by a decision of the court, as well as administrative, criminal, or other accountability in accordance with legislation of the USSR and the union republics.

Persons editing, producing, and disseminating the output of mass information media not registered in accordance with the established procedure bear responsibility for the infringement of legislation on the press and other mass information media.

Article 41. Exemption from Responsibility

The mass information media and their officials are not responsible for the dissemination of information that does not conform with reality:

1) if the said information is present in official reports;
2) if it was obtained from telegraph or news agencies;
3) if it is a verbatim reproduction of a public utterance.

Article 42. Impermissibility of Interference in the Activity of the Mass Information Media

Any demand by officials of state organs or social organizations that a mass information medium coordinate material or reports with them beforehand (except in cases where the official is the author or interviewee), or the imposition of a ban on the publication of material or reports or any part of them, may result in the notification in the mass information medium of the confiscation of material and the indication of omissions or additions where these occur in the material disseminated, as well as the publication of the name and post of the official perpetrating the interference.

**Variant proposed by a group of USSR people's deputies—that the following norm be added to Article 42:**

**"This rule does not apply to the procedure laid down by the present law for relations between the founder, publisher, and editorial office of a mass information medium."**

Article 43. Payment of Moral Damages

Moral (nonmaterial) damages suffered by a citizen as a result of the dissemination by a mass information medium of reports that do not conform with reality and that defame the honor and dignity of a citizen or inflict other nonmaterial damage on a citizen are paid by the mass information medium, and also, by a court decision, by officials and authors. The size of payments for moral (nonmaterial) damages is determined by the court, but the total may not exceed R50,000 in any individual case.

## Political & Social

### Ryzhkov Interviewed at Railroad Conference

*LD0512230689*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 5 December in its "Vremya" newscast carries a 3 and 1/2-minute report by correspondent Elin from the all-union conference of railwaymen in Moscow, at which the industries problems are being discussed.

Elin begins by outlining some of the facts and figures; he states that 15 out of 32 railroads are not fulfilling the transportation plan and that losses amount to tens of millions of rubles. He explains that Ryzhkov and Silayev, chairman and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, are taking part in the conference. Elin then interviews Ryzhkov while he is looking at an exhibition on the development of transport and its problems:

[Begin recording] [Elin] Nikolay Ivanovich, what help will the government give to railroad workers in carrying out the complex tasks which exist this year and will continue to exist in the future?

[Ryzhkov] I think that today's meeting which has just begun will allow the current railways situation to be analyzed properly. Of course, there are an awful lot of problems and we sense this, that our railways are working very intensely. By the way, if one analyzes the amount of work done on the USSR railways compared with, let us say, the U.S. or other Western railways, it is a lot greater in our country. Therefore, a material basis is also needed to maintain such a pace. Moreover, there are an awful lot of unresolved social problems. We know this very well and we became convinced of this when we were preparing the 1990 plan. When we approved this plan in the Supreme Soviet we took the first step—took the first step toward resolving at least some of the social problems. This is why I think that, however difficult, things are in the country with finances and with material

resources, we need to finish this because our country will not survive without the railways. It is not yet realistic to hope that we will transfer the whole national economy to other types of transport.

[Elin] Nikolay Ivanovich, this means that we can assume from your words that material help will not be reduced but rather will be increased?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, we believe that this industry needs help, very serious help. Otherwise it will simply be too late. This is why we are relying on such a profound analysis. I think we need to adopt that kind of a program. So we will wait for the results of this meeting.

[Elin] Thank you very much. [end recording]

Elin concludes his report by stating that the meeting will last 4 days.

## PRAVDA Reports Ryzhkov Speech to Railwaymen

*PM0612120989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 89 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "Raise Sector's Work to Qualitatively New Level"]

[Text] Problems of improving the work and accelerating the socioeconomic development of railroad transport are being discussed at an all-union conference of workers from the steel highways which opened in Moscow 5 December.

The conference was addressed by N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Among the matters that I, as head of government, have to deal with each day, I especially singled out the invitation to the all-union conference of railroad workers, he said. Primarily because transportation has been, is, and will remain a key sector of the national economy, and it must be the object of constant attention and concern.

Such a conference—on an all-union scale, I mean—has not been held for almost 30 years now. This is primarily due to the fact that, as in many other spheres of economic and social life, attitudes toward this sector clearly showed a desire to evade acute questions, gloss over vital problems, and turn away from the realities of life, which have surfaced with special force today, revealing all the shortcomings of the outgoing system of economic management.

For this reason I regard the fact that railroad workers, representatives of a trade that is respected in our country, have assembled in this hall as a by no means ordinary event. In my view, this offers a great opportunity for the sector's leadership and its labor collective to engage in a frank, productive, and I think highly useful dialogue about their needs and concerns and the problems which have to be resolved both now and in the future.

I greatly appreciate the fact that railroad workers' collectives decided to hold this conversation in this specific form rather than via the presentation of ultimatums, via labor conflicts, or via other similar phenomena which, unfortunately, do arise in various parts of the country. It is well known that they do not promote the normalization of what is already a complex economic situation. This testifies to the trust of the sector's working people in their leadership, and the response to it must be an equal trust and, most importantly, mutual understanding and specific action to substantially improve the state of affairs in railroad transport. Allow me not to go into the sector's problems in depth, but to spotlight just the problems which the country has to solve in the immediate future.

It is from this standpoint that I would like to tell you, at this representative conference, what the USSR Council of Ministers is now working on to create the necessary conditions for economic recovery in the country. What changes must, therefore, occur in the social sphere, in satisfying the population's needs for goods and services, including transportation services, and what we are likely to come up against in the industrial sphere.

What problems are we likely to face in 1990 and the next 5-year period? I must say at once that some of them stem from deep-rooted negative processes, including the legacy of the past, others are occasioned by difficulties of the transitional period and by mistakes made in the course of the complex transformations in all spheres of society's life. The concentrated presentation of the causes makes it possible to gain an impression of the entire tangle of these acute problems and contradictions. First of all, there is the disorganized money circulation and imbalanced finances, the chronically ill investment activity and impermissible monopolization of production, the economy's slow reorientation toward satisfying the people's needs and the social sphere's weak material base, the shortages of food and consumer goods, the critical ecological situation in a number of regions in the country, the slowing down of the pace of scientific and technical progress, and the deformed foreign economic policy.

It would, of course, be incorrect to claim that no positive changes at all have occurred in the last few years, N.I. Ryzhkov went on. The economy's social reorientation is gathering pace. An important structural shift has emerged here, easily traceable in the changed correlation between production of means of production and production of consumer goods. Priority has been given to channeling capital investments into the social sphere and accelerating the development of its material and technical base. The administrative system is being dismantled, albeit not all that quickly, and the application of new forms of economic management is expanding.

But even the incomplete list of problems and contradictions I have cited testifies that their heavy burden, which today everyone can feel for himself, can be lifted only at the price of intense coordinated work by all links of the national economy, by all working people. Such work can be ensured only on the basis of a totally clear and well coordinated action program covering both the tactics and the strategy for the upcoming period. Any wrong steps today are fraught with the gravest of consequences.

This is precisely why the USSR Supreme Soviet proposed that the agenda of the Second Congress of People's Deputies include a report by the USSR Government "On Measures for Economic Recovery, the Stages of the Economic Reform, and Fundamental Approaches Toward Elaborating the 13th 5-Year Plan." I must say that this will be a key issue at the Congress. Society must have a clear impression of our present state, the problems that have to be solved, the way they should be solved, and the cost of the solution. The prevailing situation obliges us today to embark on large-scale measures, including some highly painful, unpopular, but nonetheless extremely necessary steps, because without them it is impossible to achieve economic recovery and untangle the complex knot of pressing social tasks. In order to achieve this with the due determination and consistency, the government needs the people's understanding, support, and trust.

The USSR Council of Ministers has prepared such a program and has presented it to the USSR Supreme Soviet to submit for discussion by the Congress of People's Deputies. Using alternative and multiple [mnogovariantnyy] comparisons and calculations, it determines the stages and pace for the implementation of economic reform and fundamental approaches toward forming the 13th 5-Year Plan, and also maps out recovery periods and the regime for the economy's functioning over the next six years, in other words the 1990-1995 period. All this will be reported to the Congress.

Bearing in mind the fact that the importance of transport in general, and of railroad transport in particular, in the integrated national economic complex is difficult to overestimate, its activity is inseparably linked with everything we plan to implement for the recovery of the country's economy with a view to normalizing the situation within the national economy and subsequently arriving at stable and confident functioning of the economy. In other words, the success of the tremendous work we have to do in this connection depends largely on how the country's transportation performs its main function—to fully and promptly satisfy the national economy's and the population's needs for transportation services. Unless this happens, much of what has been planned will remain only on paper.

So far, railroad transport has been performing these functions—let's be blunt—in an unsatisfactory fashion. During the first 11 months of this year, railroad workers fell short of the transport plan to the tune of 10 million tonnes of fertilizers, nine million tonnes of coal, seven million tonnes of petroleum and petroleum products, almost 3.5 million tonnes of timber freight, and more than 2.5 million tonnes of flux and of iron and manganese ore. The winter is upon us, but fuel stocks at many power stations are below the norm. But I am unwilling, and probably unable, to appraise the work of railroad transport on the basis of these data alone. I think that you will examine this thoroughly at your conference. Taking a broader view, clearly, in appraising your sector's activity there are three main factors that can be singled out as quite fully characterizing the situation.

First. From the inception of railroad transport and throughout its history, people directly employed in this sphere of activity were a kind of elite in the economy's industrial sector. Over the years, the prestige of many trades in this sector, even leading ones, has declined. There were many reasons for this. They include insufficient attention to cadre training, poor standards of labor organization at a time when its intensiveness has been growing because of the steady increase of freight turnover along the railroad network, the absence of proper attention to the mechanization and automation of production processes, distortions in labor remuneration, major shortcomings in the development of the social sphere and of housing construction in particular, and much else besides. Matters have reached a point where people engaged in intense labor—especially trades like engineers, train team workers, switchmen, car inspectors, rolling stock and track repairmen, station duty officers and dispatchers, whose labor is very hard—no longer feel that they are properly looked after. In essence, breaches of working and rest practices and shortcomings in the organization of catering and of transportation between work and home have become the rule rather than the exception. Hence the declining standards of discipline, growing numbers of accidents, and overall decline in traffic safety.

Second. There is the absence of effective economic levers and incentives in the management of the production process, and the halfhearted and half-baked decisions when transferring subdivisions to the principles of economic accountability. There are insufficiently thought-out actions in transferring the economic model for the functioning of industry to railroad transport without due consideration for its specific features. Numerous elements grew conservative over the decades, especially economic mutual relations with partners.

Third. There is the lag in the development of railroad transport's material and technical base, the decline in the pace of increase in traffic capacity along the network's most important tracks, rolling stock shortages, and delayed renewal of electric and diesel locomotives and of passenger and freight cars. All this is aggravated by the aging of the active part of the fixed capital of enterprises for rolling stock repairs and maintenance.

All these problems must be resolved within the framework of the USSR Government's program for recovery

of the country's economy, N.I. Ryzhkov emphasized. Bearing in mind that it will be implemented in two stages, the first covering 1990-1992 and containing urgent measures, and second determining the strategy of our actions in 1993-1995 to ensure that the economy begins to function normally, a corresponding action program must be elaborated for railroad transport taking into account the measures to be implemented in the national economy as a whole.

Among these urgent measures we should highlight above all the normalization of money circulation and the consumer market. We must do everything to ensure that the imbalance in the circulation of money and goods is overcome in 1990-1992. The resolution of this most acute problem is ensured by a package of organically connected measures for state regulation of the processes of increasing the production and improving the quality of consumer goods, for boosting the population's monetary income, and for pursuing a flexible policy in the sphere of price formation. The fulfillment of the state plan for 1990, which envisages a sharp increase in goods production and the provision of paid services to the population, will be of crucial importance here.

That is why, in connection with the exceptional nature of the measures envisaged next year, we must ensure that transportation works smoothly, the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers said. In short, the consumer market should function stably and without any disruption as regards the supply and unloading of foodstuffs and nonfood goods and the sharp increase in transport services provided to the population.

The level to which the volume of work will increase can be gauged for instance from the fact that consumer goods production in 1992 is planned to reach R510-515 billion, an increase of R130 billion on 1989. This means a corresponding rise in goods turnover and an increase in the volume of transport services to the population.

Your sector's enterprises, N.I. Ryzhkov continued, are already producing consumer goods and are providing services to the population worth more than R4.5 billion. Consequently, on the basis of the overall task assigned to the national economy of increasing production of goods and services in the next three years by 40-44 percent, you must also ensure growth in the corresponding volumes throughout the sector.

Another no less important problem to be solved during this period is the improvement of finances.

In 1990 we must ensure for the first time in many years preferential growth in state budget income as against spending. We must halve the budget deficit and finance it through an internal loan. But this is just the beginning. It is planned to continue this line in 1990-1992 and to reduce the budget deficit to 2-2.5 percent of GNP—that is, an entirely permissible level which will not give rise to serious negative consequences. In order to reach this position the budget deficit will have to be reduced by R20 billion a year in 1991-1992. Those are the goals. The main ways of achieving them are well known. First and foremost, these are through dynamic and effective economic development, an active policy everywhere in the sphere of resource-saving, and the stepping up of the fight against losses, unproductive expenditure, and above-normative stocks in the national economy. All this has a direct bearing on railroad transport, too.

I will not quote figures on the electricity lost during freight shipments, on above-normative stocks of materials and equipment, or on mismanagement in their utilization. All this does exist and we must devote the most serious attention to it all, since the demands will be severe. That is one aspect of the problem. Another aspect is that, through its entire activity, transportation directly affects the resolution of these tasks in the national economic complex as a whole. I want to draw your attention to the fact that, according to economists' calculations, annual losses of national income owing to transport's failure to deliver freight to enterprises in other sectors stand at R10-12 billion. This is the result of slow deliveries, the untimely dispatching and delivery of raw materials and finished products, and spoilage and inadequate storage facilities during shipment. The national economy's general transport costs are constantly rising and have reached R120 billion per year, of which R27 billion goes on rail transport. As you can see, there are great reserves and plenty of work to do in this area. In this connection responsibility for the state of affairs in the sector should increase substantially at all management levels and in all structural subdivisions both in the center and on the country's railroads.

The second task which we will have to resolve in improving finances makes major demands on the sensible use of investment for new construction and the retooling of the economy's base sectors. The line here has been determined on the basis that in 1991-1992 capital investment in the production sphere will, at best, reach the level of 1990. Slight growth in Group "A" capital investment will be possible only from the second half of the 5-year plan. This is dictated by the fact that in the next three years we must substantially rectify the state of affairs in the social sphere. Because of this we will have to make the maximum use of existing production potential and endure restrictions on capital investment in the heavy sectors of industry and in transportation during this period.

Incidentally, N.I. Ryzhkov noted, railroad workers should attentively examine the opportunities afforded by their own plant base. The sector has an industry which produces output worth almost R2 billion. We should think about reorienting a number of plants to produce new rolling stock, machines, and means of mechanizing and automating production processes. On this basis, the USSR Ministry of Railways will have to take a very considered approach to the implementation of its investment policy, focus its efforts and resources on really priority problems, make efficient and rational use of centrally allocated resources, and give all possible assistance in coordinating the efforts of enterprises engaged

in the reconstruction of fixed capital through their own efforts and using their own funds. We will have to work in such a way as to create a definite base for consistently developing this work in 1993-1995.

N.I. Ryzhkov drew attention to the following point: In resolving their internal problems, railroad workers should take the most serious attitude to the fact that industry's base sectors will be in a similar position. Any disruption in the organization of shipments of raw materials, other materials, or components for them, given the strained resource position and limited capital investment, will be simply impermissible. The rhythm of the mutual actions of transport workers and associated plants should be exceedingly smooth this year—more so than ever before.

Finally, I would like to dwell on another two questions. The first of these is the consistent and phased implementation of the economic reform. The second is the formulation of the 13th 5-Year Plan.

So, the economic reform. The sector's headquarters, all railroad administrations, and particularly the economic services will have to do a very great deal of work in this area, and it will have to be done competently and professionally, bearing in mind the changes which will be taking place in the national economy. It should be remembered that in 1990-1992 the implementation of emergency measures in the economy will go hand in hand with the need to organically combine administrative and economic management methods. As of 1993, the increasingly active transition to market relations will begin, economic methods of running the national economy will come into full force, and the socialist market—in which we will have to work—will be galvanized in every possible way. We must seriously prepare for this.

Naturally, this will be accompanied by simultaneous changes in the economic relations between transportation enterprises and organizations and the customers for their services. As for the internal conditions of the functioning of the sector—clearly, the centralized principles of its leadership will be retained to a considerable extent. This is determined by the specifics of the work of rail transport. However, economic management methods should be used to their fullest possible extent at all levels of the management of the transport process. This is a complex question which requires balanced decisions. Short-term campaigns and bandwagon-jumping are impermissible in this area, everything should be rational and efficient.

Now a few words about the 13th 5-Year Plan. The main demand made during the determination of the fundamental approaches toward its formulation was that, in resolving the main social questions, we should not at the same time avoid the realities of life, should weigh up the state's potential in a considered fashion, should not jump the gun, and should not make empty promises. We must adhere unswervingly to this line, despite the fact that everyone wants quick changes. But we should remember that the scale and time needed for social transformations and increased people's prosperity are directly bound up with increased efficiency in social production. The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers recalled that the 5-year plan will be formulated under new conditions. These are linked with qualitatively new mutual relations between the center, the union republics, and local organs of power and the implementation of the new legislative acts on ownership, land, the socialist enterprise, leasing, an integrated tax system, and other points.

All this makes corresponding demands on the elaboration of the 5-year plan for railroad transport enterprises, N.I. Ryzhkov noted. The start of this work should not be postponed. We have the basis for it. We are close to completing the elaboration of the program for the retooling and modernization of the railroads in 1991-2000. This is quite a major document, and it could form the framework for the Ministry of Railways' next 5-year plan. This conference's resolution will undoubtedly have an influence on the preparation of this program.

Of course, the resolution of rail transport workers' social questions should occupy a special place. We know how many unresolved problems there are in this area. The government has seen this for itself in compiling the plan for 1990, which takes the first steps in this respect; but these problems still have to be solved.

In conclusion, N.I. Ryzhkov stressed yet again the immense importance of railroad workers' work to successfully resolve the complex and multifaceted tasks of perestroyka. He wished the participants in the all-union conference and all rail workers great successes in boosting the sector to a qualitatively new work level.

A report was delivered by N.S. Konarev, USSR minister of railways.

Taking part in the work of the first day of the conference were I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the leaders of a number of departments, institutions, and organizations.

The conference continues.

## Voskanyan Addresses Armenian Supreme Soviet

*NC0512201689 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 4 Dec 89*

[Excerpts] As you already know from our broadcasts, the 11th session of the 11th convocation of the Armenian Supreme Soviet started its deliberations today at the Stepan Shaumyan Hall. We bring you our special report on the session.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Samson Tonoyan, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, opened the republic's Supreme Soviet session. [passage omitted]

Grant Voskanyan, chairman of the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet, addressed the session on the first item on the agenda.

[Voskanyan] The legal processes taking place in the sphere of the revolutionary transformation of all aspects of life—which has become possible thanks to restructuring—have led to a requirement for the further democratization of the election system and the need for an improvement in the structure and activities of state and government bodies and the judiciary system. The draft resolutions presented for your examination aim at the legal transformation of these aspects. [passage omitted] Substantial changes are being envisaged as regards the organizational structure of the highest bodies of the republic's state authority and as regards judicial matters. The institution of a congress of the deputies of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] is not envisaged. It is being proposed that we should move on to a qualitatively new and permanently functioning Supreme Soviet of the republic, which [words indistinct] working permanently and being empowered with wide powers, will have a mandate to examine and resolve any problem under the jurisdiction of the republic. Thus, the need for a congress is obviated. [passage omitted] The workers of the republic will directly elect the supreme authority, the entire body of the Armenian Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted] The draft law envisages a reduction in the number of Armenian people's deputies from 340 to 250. [passage omitted] The chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet will represent the republic within the country and in international relations. [passage omitted] The chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet will be elected by the Armenian Supreme Soviet [words indistinct] for a period of 5 years and will serve no more than two terms. [passage omitted] [end recording]

### Protesters Interrupt Session

*NC0612105389 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Excerpt] The 11th session of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, which opened on 4 December and was to debate (?problems) distressing the republic and the Armenian people, was forced to break off its deliberations. A group of deputies and invited individuals attempted to divert the session from its basic aims and tried to force the highest state authority of the republic to capitulate to their extremist demands incompatible with the interests of the Armenian people.

To achieve this, they exploited the direct television coverage of the session by trying to influence the television audience. The situation was [words indistinct], and a large number of (?demonstrators) surrounded the session hall. As a result, the deputies could not leave the hall and remained under siege for more than 10 hours.

This is a shameful act, another example of which could hardly be found in the parliamentary history. However, thousands of (?industrious) people who were concerned with the fate of their own people and were following the procedures of the session expressed their justified indignation at this action. Cables are being received at the Supreme Soviet signed by many labor collectives and individual citizens who are expressing their indignation in the face of such behavior and demanding that the state's highest body be guided solely by the interests of the people and dwell upon the priority issues which have emerged under the difficult conditions. [passage omitted]

[Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian at 1700 GMT on 5 December announced that the Armenian Supreme Soviet will reconvene at 1000 on 6 December 1989 at Stepan Shaumyan hall]

### Azerbaijani Resolution on NKAO

*LD0612011789 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0204 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] To restore the sovereign rights of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] in the territory of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomoust Oblast [NKAO], the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

1. Abolition of the NKAO Special Administration Committee with the 28 November 1989 resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet on measures for normalizing the situation in the NKAO and the necessity for creating the republic's Organization Committee be taken into consideration. In this connection, the relevant articles of the 12 January 1989 USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on application of the NKAO Special Administration and the 13 January 1989 Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees have lost their validity.

2. The NKAO Organization Committee of the republic be created and the implementation of duties in the sphere of normalizing the situation in the NKAO and regulation of the economic and cultural development in Nagorno-Karabakh be entrusted to it. The republic's Organization Committee supervises the work of the autonomous oblast's state and economic bodies. The NKAO Organization Committee of the republic is subordinate in its activity to the Azerbaijan SSR supreme state ruling bodies. The commission for the legislative considerations of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet be instructed to prepare and work out the regulations and submit it to the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium for confirmation.

3. The implementation of Articles 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 of the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution be regarded impossible in connection with the fact that they are against Articles 76 and 81 of the USSR Constitution, Article 68 of the Azerbaijan SSR Constitution, and the Constitutional Law on Sovereignty of the Azerbaijan SSR; their activity be stopped until they are fully worked out and prepared.

4. Taking measures in the sphere of normalizing the situation in the NKAO be regarded as a very important duty of Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, soviets of the people's deputies of town and rayon and their

executive committees, and ministries and head administrations of the Azerbaijan SSR, and the republican bodies must be instructed to take effective measures in the sphere of restoring legality and law and order in all residential regions of the autonomous oblast and to maintain safety of all residents of the oblast.

5. The NKAO Organization Committee of the republic be instructed to implement preparations for elections to NKAO, oblast, rayon, town, settlement, and village soviets of people's deputies as well as the task of holding the elections and to conform to representation of the Azerbaijani and Armenian sections of the population in accordance with their number.

6. The Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, State Planning Committee, the NKAO Organization Committee of the republic, ministries and head administrations, town and rayon executive committees, associations and enterprises be instructed to take effective measures in the sphere of securing the implementation of the duties envisioned in the decision No 160, dated 26 April 1988 of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers on measures for speeding up social and economic development of the NKAO of the Azerbaijan SSR in the years 1989-1995. Harmonious and uninterrupted work of the railway and motor transport must be maintained and a special attention must be focused on questions of not allowing blockade of roads. The situation in the NKAO can be normalized only in conditions of legality and public law and order. Further development of productive forces in the NKAO and in 1990 and the 13th 5-year plan, increasing the fruitfulness of the production, and implementing the whole complex of measures in the sphere of solving social problems in every residential area be in full capacity taken into consideration.

7. It must be requested from the USSR Supreme Soviet to establish the Union Commission's precise authority and also to subordinate, from the efficiency point of view, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs' internal troops contingent to the NKAO organization committee of the republic.

8. The State Statistics Committee, State Labor Committee, and the republic's Academy of Sciences be instructed that while studying the autonomous republic's demographic situation, to work out and prepare recommendations which are scientifically calculated for the purpose of regulating the process of migration, acts of barbarity connected with events in the autonomous republic until February 1988 be taken into consideration.

9. The Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers be instructed to create a special commission under the republic's Organization Committee to solve the complex of problems of immigrants in the NKAO and to take effective measures for their return to their permanent place of residence.

10. The Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, Procuracy, and KGB be instructed to take resolute measures in mutually communicating with the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs' internal troops contingent to prevent any action aimed at inciting national hostility, holding illegal meetings, rallyies, strikes, [words indistinct] and creating other cases of violation of law. Citizens' defending their rights and safety must be secured.

11. Taking all necessary measures in the sphere of implementing this resolution, be regarded as a very important duty of the republican and local state and economic bodies. The process of the fulfillment of the resolution be heard regularly at the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

### Results of Azerbaijan Train Blockade Tallied

*NC0612114689 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 6 Dec 89*

[Excerpt] No trains entered Armenia from Azerbaijan during the first three days of December. Two trains, with 104 freight cars, were let through from Norashen station on 4 December. They carried construction materials, prefabricated houses, and concentrated feed. The normal daily train movement through Norashen and Idzhevan is 26. One train, with 54 freight cars, arrived through Idzhevan at 0940 Moscow time, on 5 December.

As a result of the blockade of Armenia, more than 25,000 freight cars have accumulated in the railway stations of the country. These cars contain goods destined for manufacturing industries and construction teams in the disaster zone. The dehumanized criminals of the Azerbaijan National Front have again exacerbated the situation. [passage omitted]

### Troops Escort Train to Stepanakert

*PM0612100989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Dec 89 First Edition p 4*

[Article by Major D. Kushnir and Captain V. Drobot: "Trouble Spot: Zone of Responsibility. Reportage From the Agdam-Stepanakert Railroad"]

[Text] Lieutenant Alisker Kerimov, criminal investigation officer at Stepanakert Station line militia post, grabbed the handrail, polished till it shone by hundreds of hands, and smartly climbed aboard the diesel locomotive. For the second time that day he was "taking" a train to the capital of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. For the second time he would look at the fields, mountains, and orchards flying by outside the window and...wait. Wait and see whether any excesses would occur again or whether someone would attempt once again to impede the freight train's passage into the city whose name is associated with tension, interethnic strife, and the Gordian knot of problems that have arisen between the autonomous oblast's Armenian and Azerbaijani populations.

In the train's comfortable cab you realize with particular acuity that the economic blockade of NKAO is a quite recent event. A very great deal can be said about the efforts required to eliminate it. Nonetheless, trains are going there. Admittedly, only freight trains at present. As well as to the railroad workers, of course, the NKAO's residents are indebted for this to the transport militia workers who ensure the fulfillment of the well known USSR Supreme Soviet resolution of October, which was recently followed by a new resolution—"On Measures To Normalize the Situation in the NKAO"—together with men from the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs internal troops.

The sections of the steel highway along which the locomotives travel today constitute a zone of special responsibility for people like Kerimov and these soldiers. Responsibility to those people who expect to be defended from evil forces, fed, and provided with the most essential commodities for a normal life.

...Internal troops sit alongside Kerimov "wrapped" in flak jackets. This morning the lieutenant has already escorted a train of 16 freightcars to Stepanakert with them. Now, after returning once again to Agdam and taking a brief rest, they will once again make the trip along the railroad that harbors all manner of surprises.

"I am not afraid when I've got this bodyguard," train driver Murad Guseynov nodded toward his escort, without taking his eyes from the steel track. His assistant Garyagdy Abbasov added authoritatively: "You'll see for yourselves..."

Smoothly picking up speed, our freight train passed the "Baku-Khankendy" passenger train standing lifelessly on a neighboring track. "Khankendy" is what the Azerbaijan People's Front "renamed" Stepanakert as and, in an attempt to accommodate it, the authorities rushed to change the enamel plates on the railroad cars. Passenger trains do not go beyond Agdam—no one wants to travel beyond there. Fears are real since the railroad firm cannot guarantee against incidents.

"Look," we heard the voice of Junior Sergeant Pavel Vanchugov, chief of the internal troop guard detail, behind us, "an attempt was made to blow up this bridge 2 weeks ago. Our guys prevented this. They were able to repel the attack without bloodshed. By the way, there they are."

The train thundered past the girders of the bridge near Agdam and the group of soldiers disappeared from view.

"We are passing the settlement of Askeran," Private Yuriy Cherepkov reminded us. "Some 5 days ago children stoned a flatcar carrying tractors."

He thought for a while and added with a sigh: "They were quite young lads. You'll see the same thing in our republic in Yeltsa, madcaps behaving like hooligans. But here you take a different view of it."

The train advanced slowly. At a speed of no more than 25 km per hour. Privates Grigoriy Munzhiu and Shamil Shakhnavazov continually looked hard out of the window. Another bridge appeared. And another guard post where internal troops soldiers were on duty. Incidentally, our guard detail was multinational: Cherepkov and Vanchugov are Russians, Munzhiu is a Moldavian, and Shakhnavazov is a Dargin from Dagestan. Since virtually their first day of service they have found themselves caught up in the vortex of events in NKAO and they are, of course, tired. But they realize that their presence here is necessary at present and they see that by no means everyone's reason prevails over their emotions...

We were approaching Stepanakert. The suburbs stretched out before us: Individual groups of small houses and industrial buildings. Just a little further to our final destination. Could we relax our guard? No. We were told that not so long ago inside the city limits, near the lamp plant, unknown persons fired on a locomotive from the mountainside. Platoon commander Lieutenant Oleg Pishchevskiy, who was escorting the train at that time, was forced to return fire and thus compelled the attackers to withdraw. Fortunately, there were no casualties: The officer used his weapons to scare off the bandits. But the attackers were in deadly earnest...

Finally we were at the station. We arrived with a squeal of brakes. Railroad administration representatives rushed up to the train and, though the soldiers' "work" was over, Militia Lt A. Kerimov still had a great deal to do. Jumping down onto the platform, he rushed up to his immediate chief Major Vasiliy Elbakidze and greeted his colleague Sergeant Elkhan Amirov. Escorting the train and ensuring the locomotive crew's personal safety forms only part of transport militia workers' functions. Checks must now be carried out (as previously at every line post and point) whether the safekeeping of the freight was ensured. For there are cases where freight is stolen, lost, or damaged. Fortunately, there was nothing to report about "our" train.

"The train has arrived. Everything is in order," Maj Elbakidze reported some time later "to his superiors."

We were glad at heart: Today Stepanakert received potatoes, sugar, agricultural machinery, automobiles, wooden goods, lumber, metallic structures, pipes, and rolled metal, along with a great many other things.

## Azerbaijan's Fataliyev Interviewed on Draft Bills

*NC0612113389 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The draft bills concerning the changes and additions to the Constitution, which is the highest law of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]; the election of the Azerbaijan SSR people's deputies; and the election of deputies to the Azerbaijan SSR people's deputies local

soviets were recently published in the press. This gave each and every citizen an opportunity to express his views and put forward proposals on the bills. This (?opportunity must be) fully used.

Similar drafts have not only been debated but also adopted by the supreme soviets in a number of the union republics. However, why is this procedure being delayed in our republic? What is the reason for this state of affairs? KOMMUNIST's correspondent Tel'man Aliyev interviewed Naim Fataliyev, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, about this. You can read the interview in the KOMMUNIST on page 2.

### Azerbaijan Trade Unions Council Plenum Held

*NC0112123789 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 28 Nov 89*

[Text] The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]) Council of Trade Unions held its seventh plenum on 28 November. Agayev, Chairman of the Council of Trade Unions, opened the plenum. The convocation heard a report by (?Kroshetskiy), secretary of the Council of Trade Unions, on the 1990 budget of the Azerbaijan SSR trade unions and on the republic's social insurance budget. The budgets were approved.

The plenum examined the question of organization. Rizayev, who was chief of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Trade Unions Cultural Training Affairs Department, was elected secretary of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Trade Unions and member of the Council of Trade Unions Presidium.

### Agdash Raykom Holds Plenum

*NC0112102289 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 30 Nov 89*

[From the Republican Press Review]

[Text] The newspapers report that the Agdash Rayon Party Committee [Raykom] held a plenum to examine the question of organization. Asadov was relieved of his responsibilities as first secretary of Agdash Raykom because of his election as first secretary of Kuba Raykom. After a wide-ranging and open debate, the plenum elected Khalilova, who was previously secretary of Agdash Raykom, as first secretary of Agdash Raykom, by secret ballot.

Ratib Zeynalov, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, and Mamedov, deputy chief of the Organizational Party Work and Cadre Affairs Department of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, participated in the debate held on the names that were put forward as candidates for the post and in the work of the plenum.

### Armenia's Arutyunyan Inspects Restoration Work

*NC1911133589 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0545 GMT 19 Nov 89*

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Excerpts] The unsatisfactory pace of restoration work in the disaster zone and the many unresolved problems and difficulties involved in organizing the socio-economic life of the population and providing better living and employment conditions have become more conspicuous and worrying as the winter approaches. [passage omitted]

Comrade Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, visited Leninakan on 17 November accompanied by party and government leaders. Comrade Arutyunyan familiarized himself with the progress of the restoration work and met the collectives of construction organizations, manufacturing enterprises, and educational institutes. He inquired about their working and living conditions.[passage omitted].

Later, an assessment of the results of the visit was made. Party and government leaders spoke during the discussion. It was pointed out that the pace of restoration work is exceedingly slow in Leninakan city; virtually no organization has been able to fulfill the plans put before them. What is particularly unsettling is the fact that there is almost no [word indistinct] construction work within the city. There was a heated debate on the issue of the reinforcement of inhabited houses. At the end, Comrade Arutyunyan mentioned that the progress of the restoration work was debated at the 4 October Politburo meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. There are many unresolved problems in the disaster zone and they will be comprehensively and thoroughly discussed at the next plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, he said.

The paper has published an extensive report on Comrade Arutyunyan's visit to Leninakan under the headline: "There Are Many Problems in the Disaster Zone."

### Azerbaijan Hosts SRV Parliamentary Delegation

*NC2911093189 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 25 Nov 89*

[Text] A Vietnamese delegation composed of several members of the National Assembly Foreign Affairs Committee of the SRV, which is visiting the Soviet Union at the invitation of the International Affairs Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has paid a 3-day visit to Azerbaijan. Nguyen (Thi Vuan), deputy chief of the Foreign Relations Department of the Vietnam Communist Party Central Committee, headed the delegation.

The guests visited [name indistinct] factory in Baku and inspected the production process. They were also received by the Executive Committee of Baku City

People's Deputies Soviet. The Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic organized a banquet in honor of the guests.

The Vietnamese parliamentarians went to see the exhibits in the Azerbaijan History Museum and visited places of interest in Baku.

The members of the delegation left for Moscow today. The guests will return to Vietnam from Moscow.

### Armenian Groups Meet To Discuss Cultural Ties

*NC2511164589 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 23 Nov 89*

[From the Republican Press Review]

[Text] Issues related to the preservation of the Armenian identity were discussed in Tsaghkadzor [in Armenia] during the first gathering of the cultural associations of the Armenian communities in the Soviet Union.

In the contemporary conditions of national revival, efforts are under way in the large Armenian communities in the Soviet Union to teach the Armenian language, which is regarded as the major factor in the preservation of the national identity. Though initial successes can be discerned, difficulties abound. There is a severe shortage of textbooks, teach-yourself materials, and classrooms. The hope was expressed that the Armenian cultural associations would assist in the provision of these materials. The conference set itself the goal of establishing, maintaining, and enlarging the Sunday schools teaching Armenian language and history in the large Armenian communities in the Soviet Union.

### Turkmen Court Hears Case of Accused Uzbek Official

*PM0412161589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 6*

[Own correspondent V. Kuleshov report under the "From the Courtroom" rubric: "The Administrator of Affairs Affair"]

[Text] Ashkhabad—The Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Court Court Collegium for Criminal Cases has begun hearing the case of T.M. Umarov, former administrator of affairs of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, who is charged with bribery and abuse of official position.

According to the indictment, T. Umarov took advantage of his key official position and received bribes totaling R132,270 in the form of money and industrial goods between 1976 and 1984. "Umarov," I read in the indictment signed by Senior Counselor of Justice V. Galkin, assistant to the USSR general prosecutor, "procured illegal allocation of apartments in Tashkent from the housing stock of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Administration of Affairs and the Tashkent City Soviet Executive Committee for his children and relatives, as well as for relatives and friends of persons from whom he had himself received bribes on numerous occasions..."

### Turkmenistan's Valiyev's 'Tragic' Death Reported

*LD2411125289 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 10 Nov 89 p 1*

[Text] The Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee and the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium announce with profound sorrow the tragic death of Akmamed Valiyev, member of the Turkmenistan Communist Party first secretary of the Mary City party committee and Turkmenistan Supreme Soviet deputy.

[On page 3 of this newspaper is published an obituary of Akmamed Valiyev, signed by S.A. Niyazov, Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, and other leaders. The obituary says that Valiyev died tragically on 10 November 1989. No further details are given.]

### Uzbek Procurator on Recent Demonstrations

*90US0170A Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 26 Oct 89 p 4*

[Report on interview with D.A. Usatov, procurator of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, by unidentified correspondent of the Uzbek Telegraph Agency: "Obey the Law Strictly and Rigorously"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [UZBEK TELEGRAPH AGENCY—UZTAG] A number of letters have been arriving at newspaper editorial offices recently, including our agency, in which citizens speak angrily and indignantly about repeated instances of supercharging the unhealthy sociopolitical situation in the city of Tashkent and other population centers on the part of various so-called informal associations and groups.

People justifiably ask: Do we really not have any laws that place responsibility for various kinds of illegal activity that are directed at destabilizing the situation in the republic by way of inflaming hostility and dissension on national grounds, the spread of provocative and panicky rumors, and the commitment of other activities associated with the organization and conduct of illegal rallies and demonstrations, etc.

Dmitriy Aleksandrovich! Would you give an explanation of the laws that are in effect on these questions.

[Usatov] Actually, in Tashkent recently, various informal associations and groups of citizens organized and conducted a number of rallies and other mass measures, including those held on central squares and streets, that were not coordinated and sanctioned by official authorities. This interrupted the pace of work of the city services and public transport, it precluded

normal worker rest, and, in the final analysis, it had a negative effect on the state of the economy and on morale.

For a long time the managers of party and state organs of the republic and of local party, soviet, and law enforcement organs directed the attention of the leaders of informal organizations and groups of citizens to the need for obeying the norms of laws in force; they operated by the method of persuasion, and they attempted to remove tensions.

However, the leaders of "Birlik," displaying a lack of understanding and counting on impunity from their illegal acts, are not making business contacts with the organs of state authority, and they are continuing to organize and conduct illegal rallies and demonstrations. In doing this, they are disturbing the peace, which evokes the displeasure of the city's residents

Some mass meetings bore an aggressive character that constituted an increased social danger. Such illegal activities were decisively curtailed by law enforcement organs.

Criminal deeds, for example, took place on 1 October during the organization and conduct of a meeting on V.I. Lenin Square that was not authorized by the Tashgorispolkom [Tashkent city soviet executive committee]. In this connection, the procurator of the city of Tashkent lodged a criminal case according to Article 191/6 of the UzSSR [Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic] UK [Criminal Code] which stipulates criminal liability for the organization of, or active participation in group actions that flagrantly violate public order, and also acts connected to clear disobedience of the legal requirements of authorities or that involve the disruption of the work of transport, enterprises, establishments, and organizations. An investigation is going on at the present time, and the guilty parties will bear the deserved punishment that the court will determine. In accordance with the indicated article, punishment is stipulated in the form of imprisonment for a period of up to 3 years, corrective labor of up to 2 years, or a fine of up to R300.

[UZTAG] Besides "Birlik," meetings are conducted by other "informals" as well...

[Usatov] Recently, antisocial activity was also activated by the leaders of the so-called Tashkent section of the "Democratic Union," despite repeated legal action against some of them for administrative liability.

Thus, members of this informal organization, carrying posters and placards, held an unsanctioned mob meeting on 3 October at the Hotel Uzbekistan. The organizer and instigator of these illegal activities was a certain L.V. Petranovskaya. She was born in 1967, graduated in 1989 from the philological department of Tashkent V.I. Lenin State University and has not worked anywhere. Together with her sympathizers, she publicized an "appeal" to the population of Uzbekistan on behalf of the "DS" [Democratic Union], with a call to boycott the cotton campaign by means of civil disobedience, and she committed other illegal acts.

For antisocial transgression of the law, a fine of R30 each was imposed on Petranovskaya and other persons, according to a decision of the people's court.

Intentionally violating the law, Petranovskaya on that same day, at about 1900 hours, once again organized an unsanctioned procession with placards of an antisocial nature on Revolution Square. The participants in the procession did not react to the recommendations of the authorities to cease the illegal activities, and they insulted the workers of the militia.

For breaking the law, the procurator of the Kirovskiy Rayon of the City of Tashkent on 6 October instituted criminal proceedings against L.V. Petranovskaya on the basis of crimes stipulated in Article 191/7 (violation of the procedure for the organization and conduct of meetings, rallies, street processions, and demonstrations), and Article 193/1 (insulting militia workers) of the UzSSR UK. Now Petranovskaya is criminally liable before the law. Liability ensues, according to Article 191/7 of the UK UzSSR, when measures of an administrative nature were ineffective, and the guilty parties are punished with a fine in the sum of R2,000, corrective labor for a period of up to 1 year, or are imprisoned for a period of up to 6 months.

[UZTAG] During their gatherings, the "informals" frequently insult militiamen, and threaten them. The law should also have its weighty say here.

[Usatov] In accordance with Article 193/1, which stipulates the criminal liability for insulting a militia worker or a member of a volunteer public order squad, and also servicemen in connection with the execution by these persons of duties assigned them in maintaining law and order, the guilty parties are punished with imprisonment for a period of up to 6 months, or corrective labor for a period of up to 1 year, or a fine of up to R100.

Mention should also be made of the liability stipulated by law concerning administrative infringements of the law.

By the Ukase of the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet of 19 August 1988 "Concerning Liability for Violating the Established Procedure for Organizing and Conducting Meetings, Rallies, Street Processions, and Demonstrations," which is directed at guaranteeing public law and order, and the protection of the rights and interests of citizens, it is established that the commitment of the illegal acts enumerated above entail a warning or the levy of a fine of up to R300, and, in exceptional cases, when the employment of these measures is acknowledged to be inadequate because of circumstances of the case and the personality of the violator, administrative arrest for up to 15 days.

Commitment of the same activities repeatedly in the course of a year after the imposition of an administrative penalty, either by an organizer of a meeting, rally, street procession, or a demonstration, entails a fine in the sum of R1,000 or corrective labor for a period of from 1 to 2 months with a 20 percent reduction of salary, or administrative arrest for a period of up to 15 days. The indicated legal norm is stated in Article 188/1 of the Uzbek SSR code on administrative legal violations.

Administrative liability according to Article 187 of the cited code is also stipulated for malicious disobedience of legal instructions or the requirements of militia workers and volunteer public order squads, and also servicemen performing their duties in maintaining public order, and this entails the imposition of fines of R10-15, or corrective labor for a period of 1 to 2 months with a 20 percent reduction in salary, and also administrative arrest for up to 15 days.

Provision is also made for liability in the form of a warning or a fine on citizens for up to R15, and a warning or the imposition of a fine on officials of up to R100 for illegal use in public places of flags and pennants that are not properly registered, and also for the manufacture, distribution, or carrying of posters, emblems, and symbols whose contents are directed at causing damage to state or public order and the rights and legal interests of citizens (Article 188/2 of the code of administrative violations of the law).

[UZTAG] Gross attacks are committed at unsanctioned assemblies, antisocial ideas are propagandized, and chauvinistic and nationalistic slogans can be heard.

[Usatov] Recently, there actually have been antisocial displays on the part of individual extremist-minded persons that are aimed at arousing national dissension. These are isolated cases, but, nonetheless, we cannot fail to react to them in the appropriate way. We have a law that defends the rights and interests of citizens in this sphere. Article 64 of the Criminal Code of the Uzbek SSR stipulates criminal liability for premeditated actions aimed at inciting national or racial hostility or dissension, for belittling ethnic honor and dignity, as well as direct or indirect limitation of rights depending on racial or national origin, and it stipulates punishment in the form of imprisonment for a period of up to 3 years, or a fine of up to R2,000. When the enumerated acts of a person were accompanied by force, deceit, or threats, and also were committed by officials, they entail punishment in the form of imprisonment for up to 5 years, or a fine of up to R5,000. For the commitment of the indicated crimes by a group of persons, or those that involve the death of people or other serious consequences, the stipulated punishment measure is imprisonment for a period of up to 10 years.

Cases in the given category at the present time have been brought and are being investigated by procurator organs in the Fergana and Andizhan oblasts and in the City of Tashkent. The guilty parties will be punished according to the law.

Mass unsanctioned measures carried out by the leaders of "Birlik" and other informal associations evoke the rightful indignation of the residents of Tashkent and other cities of the republic. They are demanding an end to the orgy of the immoderate extremists. Therefore, it is not accidental that this deputy query was made at the session of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet on 20 October: When will the organs of authority stop the outrages of the "informals." There was a unanimous adoption of the resolution by the Supreme Soviet of the republic "Concerning Measures to Stabilize the Social and Political Situation in the Republic." Workers of organs of internal affairs were given emergency authority to stop illegal activities, and the liability of the guilty parties for such activities was increased.

For my part as the procurator of the republic, I fully support the hard line of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party and the government of the republic which has as its aim the stabilization of the situation in interethnic relations, the interethnic education of the citizens, and the establishment of firm law and order. The laws mentioned above will be applied rigorously in all necessary instances.

Law enforcement organs, jointly with public formations and representatives of labor collectives, will undertake all measures to institute order and ensure security and calm for the workers of the republic. This is evident in the fact that, as recently as 19-21 October, the Tashkent courts brought to trial for administrative liability 175 organizers and active participants in unsanctioned rallies and processions which, for the purpose of destabilizing the situation, attempted to interfere with the work of the session of the Supreme Soviet of the republic. The court has brought criminal charges against two of them.

## North Kazakhstan Oblast Leader Replaced

*LD0412025689 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1500 GMT 1 Dec 89*

[Text] A session of the North Kazakhstan Oblast Soviet People's Deputies was held today. It examined an organizational matter. Comrade Tursynbayev was relieved of his duties as chairman of the oblast executive committee in connection with his election to the post of chairman of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic State Agroindustrial Committee.

Deputies proposed the candidacy of (Kulmakhanov), second secretary of the oblast party committee, and Ahmetbekov, first secretary of Sergeyevskiy Rayon Party Committee, to the vacant post. During the discussion, Ahmetbekov withdrew of his candidacy. As a result of a vote, (Kulmakhanov) was elected chairman of the N. Kazakhstan Oblast Soviet Executive Committee.

### Kazakh Election Campaign Raises Concerns

*PM0512124589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 1*

[I. Karpenko article under the "Current Topic" rubric: "Election Campaign Unfolding"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] As yet it is still difficult to capture the general trends and typical features necessary to analyze and draw conclusions about the way the election campaign is unfolding. The republics have different scheduled dates for the elections, the campaigns are therefore at different stages, and nowadays there are considerable differences in republic laws stamping their specific features on the election campaign.

The results of nominations of local soviet candidates in Kazakhstan (published in IZVESTIYA No 329) certainly generate a sense of alarm—73 percent of electoral okrugs have nominated just a single contender for the deputy's seat. It has come to light, however, that this was by no means the end of it. In Karaganda Oblast, for example, where the candidate nomination stage produced more than 1,400 single-candidate okrugs, the "weeding" of contenders continued during the next stage, the candidate registration stage. Our own correspondent in Karaganda Oblast O. Stefashin was told at the Okrug Electoral Commission that, following the registration of 5,069 contenders for deputies' seats, the lists now contain only 4,909 names. But there is also a positive aspect to this outcome. The registration stage surprisingly produced an outburst of civic activeness which was in rather short supply among Karaganda's people at candidate nomination meetings. An especially acute struggle was waged with the okrug commission around the Karaganda State University candidates.

"We have to examine about half a dozen more appeals filed as a result of refusals to effect registration," Oblast Commission Secretary L. Nazarova said. "They are basically justified and, it seems to me, will be upheld...."

Candidate registrations in Ust-Kamenogorsk, according to our own correspondent V. Mirolevich, ended without mishaps. Schedules were drawn up and meetings with voters are under way. The main problem that worries everyone is whether people will go to vote. The voters' apathy during the nomination stage is a highly alarming sign....

Following the tumultuous events during the last election campaign, which literally rocked the entire country, it was hard to expect that a republic, an oblast, or even a rayon would again end up with single-candidate okrugs and that thousands of polling stations would again offer elections without a choice.

This, I think, is not so much a matter of voters' passiveness, but mainly a question of what I said at the start of these remarks—an obvious lack of interest in local soviet elections, an acute shortage of information material about the new functions of soviets and the status of their deputies. Even the publication of the Law on Elections in brochure form is an acute problem in almost all of the country's regions. [passage omitted]

### Georgian 'National Accord' Group's Manifesto

*90US0251A Tbilisi MOLODEZH GRUZII in Russian 14 Nov 89 p 3*

[Manifesto of the Georgian People's Front "National Accord" Association]

[Text] The constituent assembly of the Georgian People's Front "National Accord" Association has been held. The association's main purpose is cohesion of the whole non-Georgian population of the republic around the Georgian national liberation movement.

The constituent assembly adopted the association's charter and elected a board and its chairman. The latter is Aleksandr Rusetskiy.

We offer the readers a manifesto—the association's appeal to the whole Georgian population.

In our time the Georgian people's national liberation movement is experiencing an exceptional upsurge, encompassing all strata of society. All the Georgian people are gradually becoming imbued with the ideas of this movement. However, at the same time reactionary forces attempting to create in the Georgian and, particularly, the non-Georgian population, and throughout the world generally, a false impression of our national movement as a chauvinist, extremist movement are hampering the peaceful development of events and endeavoring to undermine the primordial traditions of friendship of the Georgian peoples and counterpose them to one another. And this would ultimately be disastrous for all our people.

Proceeding from this, the Georgian People's Front "National Accord" Association believes that for each ethnic group residing on Georgian territory it is most important now to determine its attitude toward the Georgian people: whether it will play the part of puppet in the hands of dark forces hostile toward the latter or embark together with them in the struggle for their flouted rights and the restoration of an independent Georgian state. The right choice is a matter of honor for each citizen of a sovereign Georgian republic. We are convinced that in a free Georgia the representatives of any nationality would live far more tranquilly and securely: it is freedom, after all, which is the determining condition of peace and fraternity.

For this reason we consider a most important mission of our association familiarization of the whole population with the aims and directions of the national liberation movement of the Georgian people and popularization of our struggle.

We respect the Georgian people's right to self-determination, state sovereignty and territorial integrity and inviolability, their vitally important interests and their language and culture, history and traditions. We

categorically condemn any separatism and all specific manifestations thereof. We consider activity for the good and to the benefit of the country in which we live a matter of our honor and conscience.

The association calls on people of all nationalities living in Georgia to join the ranks of the national liberation movement for we believe that each individual living on this sacred soil is obliged to do everything within his power for its happiness and prosperity. Whoever, on the other hand, believes that none of what is happening concerns him and, even more, whoever [word illegible] the national liberation movement is harming not only himself but also his entire nation.

The country's strength lies in the unity of its peoples and ethnic groups, and we are obliged to struggle against the forces fomenting ethnic conflicts and shedding innocent blood to please the heartless bureaucratic machinery.

Long live free, democratic Georgia!

## Ukraine Proposes Church Registration Guidelines

*LD0512155589 Kiev in English to North America 0030 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] There has been rather a tense situation in recent times in the western regions of Ukraine. The reason for that is intensified demands of Ukrainian Greek-Catholics to legalize their church which was liquidated by the decision of the Lvov council in 1946. According to certain estimates there are five bishops and hundreds of priests in it at present. The number of the followers of this church amounts to several millions people.

The discrimination of these people in conditions of a legal state which we are striving for is nothing but an anachronism. Besides, dragging out the solution of an issue on restoring the legal status of the Greek-Catholic Church pushes some of its followers to such extremist depths as the capture of cathedrals. The situation became very hard, so to say.

And at last news arrived that the authorities have made a step to meet the aspirations of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholics. Here is Radio Kiev's Oleksa Hubenko:

[Hubenko] As was stated over the phone by Mykola Kolesnyk, chairman of Ukraine's Council for Religious Affairs, the council adopted a decision which maintains that in case Ukrainian Greek- Catholics abide by the state order, they will be provided with an opportunity to take advantage of all the rights enjoyed by the believers in this country. At the same time Mykola Kolesnyk pointed out that it is not the church that will be officially registered, but Greek-Catholic communities. He went on saying that the church as well as the temple begin with the foundation, that is with an association of believers.

Mykola Kolesnyk underlined once again that the activities of the Greek-Catholic communities must be carried out only on the basis of law. That is why they must vacate the temples recently captured by them. And then, after the registration of their communities, Greek-Catholics may appeal to the local bodies of power for turning over these temples at their disposal.

In conclusion, Mykola Kolesnyk reported that the statement of the terms of the registration of Greek-Catholic church communities has been published by all regional newspapers in West Ukraine, where, according to the tradition, the positions of the Uniate Church are rather strong. And now time has come for practical realization of this statement.

## Ukrainian Party Plenum Discussions Summarized

*PM0512141789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 2*

[RATAU-TASS report: "Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Kiev, 29 Nov—The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee's platform for the elections of people's deputies of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the republic's local soviets was examined at a Central Committee plenum held here today.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee's stance on the questions most perturbing the republic's population is set out in the document. It talks in particular of the need to sharply reorient the economy toward the population's demands and needs, ensure faster production of consumer goods, and strengthen the material base in the social sphere. The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee advocates economic independence for the republic and a transition to principles of self-management, cost-covering, and self-financing in 1991.

The platform devotes great attention to substantially improving the Ukraine's environmental situation and implementing cardinal measures for its improvement. The question of the scientifically based development of the Rovno and Khmelnitskiy nuclear stations and of further effective measures to eliminate the consequences of the disaster at the Chernobyl nuclear power station is insistently placed before the union government. In the next 5-year plan, the election platform notes, capital investments for nature conservation measures will be doubled via centralized financing and broader use of resources from enterprises and organizations.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee attaches exceptional significance to the comprehensive development of the Ukrainian national culture and the cultures of other nationalities whose representatives live on the republic's territory.

In the sphere of state building and the further democratization of social life, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee consistently advocates the legislative assertion and real ensuring of the Ukrainian SSR's state sovereignty within a renewed Soviet federation.

In order to perform the leading role in perestroyka, the election platform stresses, the Ukrainian Communist Party is intensifying the processes of its own internal renewal and purification and is seeking to become an example of democratic development, conscious party discipline, and organizational and ideological unity of party ranks on the basis of Leninist principles of democratic centralism.

The adopted resolution on the election platform recommends that party organizations launch extensive work to explain its provisions in labor collectives and at the populations's places of residence and stresses the need to pursue in a principled and well reasoned fashion a policy of defending socialist values, debunking political demagoguery, and exposing attempts to denigrate the party and its policy.

The participants in the plenum adopted an appeal to all voters in the Soviet Ukraine.

A commission was formed under the republic's Communist Party Central Committee to generalize proposals relating to the party statutes and to draw up a draft Ukrainian Communist Party action program in connection with the preparations for the CPSU 28th Congress.

V.A. Ivashko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the plenum.

### Ukraine Supreme Soviet Session Held 30 Nov

*LD0212161189 Kiev in English to North America 0030 GMT 1 Dec 89*

[Report on Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet session in Kiev by unidentified correspondent, including recorded remarks by Academician Platon Kostyuk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet; Deputy (Svetlana Kirillova); Vitold Fokin, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers and head of the republic State Planning Committee; and Mykola Didyk, head of the Executive Committee of the Vinnitsa Regional Soviet of People's Deputies—all above participants of Ukrainian Supreme Soviet session speak in Ukrainian with superimposed English translation]

[Excerpts] [Unidentified correspondent] Today a regular session of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet began its work in Kiev. It will be the last session of the Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation. As we already reported, on March the 4th next year, elections of the new composition of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and local soviets will get under way. The current session was opened by Chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Academician Platon Kostyuk.

[Kostyuk] The following agenda is being proposed for the current session:

Issue No 1: the state plan of economic and social development of the Ukrainian SSR for 1990 and the fulfillment of the state plan for 1989.

Second issue: on the state budget of the Ukrainian SSR for 1990 and a report on the fulfillment of the state budget of the Ukrainian SSR for 1989.

The third question: on the appointment of the state arbiter of the Ukrainian SSR.

The fourth question: on the changes within the composition of the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR.

The fifth one: on the election of the judges of the regional courts of the Ukraine.

The sixth one: on the endorsement of the decrees of the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Are there any questions or proposals to this effect?

[Correspondent] This question from the chairman was traditional and somewhat rhetorical. But the response to this question was quite unusual. Unlike at all previous sessions at which the agenda was never subjected to any doubts, this time there was a sharp criticism from People's Deputy of the USSR Valeriy Krishevich, a railroadman from Zhitomir region. He expressed indignation over the fact that the session was not planning to consider the situation in the regions which suffered from the aftereffects of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station. He forwarded a proposal to include this question on the agenda at the current session. Taking part in the debate on this issue was Deputy (Svetlana Kirillova), who said the following:

[(Kirillova)] At the last session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet I appealed to the minister of public health to give explanations. A month has passed since then, but the minister did not find time to appear before public and explain the situation in the areas affected by the accident to the population of the Ukraine. Secondly, I would like to tell all the deputies, academicians of the Academy of Medical Sciences, that the Academy's vice president, Ilyin, has no moral right to further hold this post as a person who deceived the public. I don't know how such person can head the health protection of the entire republic.

[Correspondent] The deputies decided to determine during the course of the discussions whether to contend with today's examination of this issue, or to forward it to a separate session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Reporting on the state plan for social and economic development of the republic in 1990, and the fulfillment of the state plan for the current year, was Deputy Chairman of the Ukraine's Council of Ministers, Head of the State Planning Committee of the Republic Vitold Fokin. [name and title as received] In part he said:

[Fokin] The main trends of the plan for 1990 are as follows:

Firstly, there should be a real acceleration of social progress due to a dynamic restructuring of the production and resources consumption, and hence, significant

lessening of social tensions, making it possible to supply the market with consumer goods, with economically justifiable growth of means for remuneration of labor, raising the rates of housing construction, the strengthening of the material and technical basis of the social and cultural spheres.

Secondly, it is envisaged to make a resolute step forward in the financial recovery of the branches and money circulating system, in the reduction of the budget deficit, so as to normalize the financial and economic state of the republic.

Thirdly, by protecting economic relations and forms of property, it is necessary to ensure labor efficiency growth and sensible saving of resources. Next year the preparation for a transition of the Ukraine's national economy to the development according the principles of economic sovereignty should be completed in the main. So what are the ways of realization of the planned tasks? First of all, they can be implemented due to the labor efficiency growth in industry by 4.2 percent, in construction by 4 percent, in agriculture by the collective and state farms by 6.2 percent. The national income will grow by 1.4 percent, and if compared with 1985 by 17 percent. Social labor productivity will grow by 1.5 percent. The basis of the plan for 1990 is the solution of social problems which were pointed to at the first congress of people's deputies. Real per capita incomes will grow by 1.4 percent.

From January the 1st next year the period of partially paid leave of absence from work for women will grow and will last until a baby is 18 months of age. The age of children in the families of moderate means who receive monetary allowances will be extended to 12 years. The leave of absence of work for women prior to the childbirth will be increased from 56 to 70 days. The norms for nutrition expenditure of the preschool establishments will grow.

The minimum age pensions will amount to R70 a month. Pensions in case of disability and loss of breadwinners, pensions to the parents and wives of perished servicemen, monetary assistance to invalids of childhood and disabled children will also grow.

It is planned to raise the output of consumer goods by 14.3 percent, in particular of industrial goods by 20.8 percent. It is envisaged to do so due to the conversion of the defense branches of industry, the transition of the heavy industry enterprises to the output of high quality goods for the population, as well as maximum use of potentials of specialized branches of industry, subsidiary enterprises of collective and state farms and cooperatives.

R5.4 billion will be channelled for the construction of 21.7 million square meters of housing which will allow to improve housing conditions to 1.7 million people.

It is envisaged to allocate R35 million for the restoration of historical and cultural monuments of the Ukraine. It is planned to allot over R610 million, which is 18.4 percent more than this year for nature protection and improvement of the ecological environment. And now I'd like to dwell on one more problem. As to the scale of influence on people's health, environment, and moral state of the society, this problem is of special significance. I mean the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear plant in 1986. Let's recall the following figures. The territory of 3.5 million hectares of agricultural land, including 1.9 million of arable land, 1.5 million hectares of forest, and more than 1,000 settlements underwent radiation pollution. Because of an especially tense radiation situation, a decision was taken to remove residents from 72 settlements. Within a short period of time 92,000 people were evacuated. To settle those people 101 villages, 11,000 countryside houses with all necessary outbuildings, 1,570 apartments were built, as well as 600 objects of everyday services; 8,700 houses were supplied with gas. A large complex of scientific, technical, medical, and other measures aimed at improvement of the radiation situation and for decontamination and land reclamation work allowed to lower the radiation level by several times. General spendings for the realization of those measures surpassed R2 billion. Concluding my report, I'd like to stress that the plan for 1990 has a number of problems which are to be elaborated. For example, it is necessary to provide enterprises with raw materials for the protection of consumer goods, to increase capital investments for the development of the construction industry. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] After the reports of the standing commissions of the Supreme Soviet on the first and second agenda items, discussions began. The floor was given to Mykola Didyk, head of the Executive Committee of the Vinnitsa Regional Soviet of People's Deputies.

[Didyk] Naturally, the problem of food supply is the most complicated and hardest to solve of all the social problems which have piled up. I would like to (?cite general) opinions on the pressing problems pertaining to the further development of the agro-industrial complex, which, as can be seen from the draft, are planned to be solved again in the common [as heard] style. Hard to understand is the position of the country's government, its ministries and departments on the material supply of the villages. The building materials fund has been reduced as compared to what it was in 1985. It turns out that the solution of the food problem is a one-way drive. You farmers produce and supply the people with food, and the state will pay you back some day.

[Correspondent] (Mykola Promichenko) first secretary of the Polesskoye District Party Committee in Kiev region, dwelt on the situation in the area adjacent to the 30-km zone of the Chernobyl power plant.

[Promichenko] In the 3 and a half years which have passed since the accident, a great deal of work has been carried out by the union republics and regional bodies for eliminating the consequences. Everything was done to lessen the danger of life and health of the people. But

larger-scale measures for decontaminating the territory did not notably lessen the level of radioactive contamination. The radiation level on the major part of the territory of Polesskoye and a number of neighboring districts of Kiev and Zhitomir regions remains to be complicated [as heard].

The absence of genuine steps and evident perspective for practical changes in the state of service in this direction evoke serious aggravation of the moral and psychological state among the population. People are justifiably anxious about their health, and especially the health of their children. They are concerned about their tomorrow, and demand immediate evacuation. We know that a complex program has been elaborated in the republic for eliminating the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear powerplant. In my opinion, this program should be published in the press, and it should be examined by the session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet in the nearest future, said Mykola Promichenko. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] There were a lot of different ideas, proposals and views, sometimes very sharp and categorical, expressed in the speeches of the deputies at the session. And that is a very significant fact, because the truth is always born in the controversy of opinions and sharp debates.

### 40,000 Attend Kiev 'Pre-election' Meeting

*LD0512182289 Kiev in Ukrainian to North America 2200 GMT 4 Dec 89*

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Through democratic elections to a democratic state—under this slogan a meeting was held in Kiev under the sponsorship of rukh. At one of the central squares of the city nearly 40,000 Kievites have gathered. The meeting was opened by Mykhaylo Horyn, chairman of Rukh's secretariat. He said:

[Horyn] In this way we are starting the pre-election campaign for electing deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Our campaign begins in a very complex situation. All of you closely scrutinized the materials of the plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. Their authors have produced rosy plans on how to get out of the economic, cultural and political crisis. But if we look into the genuine drafts of the plan and budget for 1990, then we shall see that all this optimism runs counter to grave reality. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Ivan Yushchuk, deputy chairman of the T. Shevchenko Ukrainian Lanhguage Societ spoke next:

[Yushchuk] In both the Ukrainian Communist Party and within the ranks of informal organizations there are sufficient numbers of people with a sober way of thinking who have not been infected with egotism and caste-like (?seclusion) and who are able to get the republic out of the crisis. To achieve this, we do not need instructions and wise advice from above. All we need is to free the creative abilities of our people.

There is no need for improving, broadening, perfecting, or waging struggle for anything. What we need is to restruct fundamentally relations within the republic. And freed from the chains and serfdom, the people's initiative we build genuinely humane socialism instead of the one which we term as barracks' socialism.

[Announcer] Vasyl Drobotun, first secretary of the Moskovskiy Party raykom in Kiev, also spoke:

[Drobotun] Comrades, I beg you to read the election manifesto of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee at least once. You will find in it all the points expressed from this rostrum by informal leaders...[passage omitted]

[Announcer] However, his speech was interrupted several times by hecklers and by loud whistling...[passage omitted]

### Moldavian Party Appeals to Electorate

*LD0512192889 Moscow TASS in English 1723 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Kishinev December 5 TASS—The Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party has addressed to Moldavian voters an appeal approved by the Central Committee plenum on Tuesday.

The appeal is timed to coincide with the beginning of the election campaign for the republican and local authorities scheduled for February 25 next year.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the appeal says, initiated perestroika. As a result of reforms, serious changes have taken place in the economic, political and legal fields.

Naturally, the appeal notes, there are more unresolved problems than achievements. Problems have accumulated over decades, and it is naive to expect that a fast and easy resolution can be found soon. It will take more than one year to tackle them all.

Without eschewing responsibility for shortcomings and miscalculations, the Moldavian party organisation is at the same time deeply confident that the problems can be resolved only by proceeding from a modern interpretation of the socialist idea.

Moldavian communists, the appeal says, support public forces and movements in their desire to resolve the accumulated issues. However, they yet have to prove by their specific practical deeds their loyalty to the ideas of socialist renewal.

The Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party called upon voters to show great adherence to principle and exactitude when assessing the election

platforms of different candidates and to vote for those who have shown by their conduct that their words are matched to their deeds.

The plenum considered organizational matters and elected two new secretaries of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee to deal respectively with ideological matters and the affairs in the agro-industrial complex.

Bulgarian Ilya Arnaut and Gagauz Georgy Samsi, both representing ethnic minorities residing in the southern regions of the republic, were elected non-voting members of the Central Committee bureau.

### Background to Moldavian Unrest Discussed

*WA0512193489 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 26 Nov 89 p 2*

[O. Vladimirov report: "What Is Happening Now in Moldavia?"]

[Text] Kishinev—The dramatic events that recently shook the Moldavian capital are still alarming the public. Many people are asking: Who gains any advantage from this? How could it happen that after Nagorno-Karabakh, Sumgait, Fergana, Novyy Uzen, Tbilisi, and Sukhumi, many people have been injured in street fighting in Kishinev, and shots have rung out, Molotov cocktails thrown, and barricades erected?

Today, however, the capital appears quite peaceful. In the mornings the people of Kishinev hurry as usual to their work, the passions at the monument to Stefan the Great have been calmed, and transport and the institutions and stores and plants and factories are operating without interruption.

But this impression is very deceptive. In the eyes of passers-by one can guess at the inner strain and guarded waiting. In the evenings reinforced militia detachment patrol the streets, and the sale of liquor has been stopped; the holding of meetings and demonstrations is banned by special order. Such are the emergency steps taken by the republic government because of the mass disorders that have occurred here.

So what did happen here on 10 November? From official data of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], materials carried in the mass media, and statements from those who participated in and witnessed those events, we can draw the following picture.

At about 1600 hours about 300 young people gathered at the monument to Stefan the Great in the city center and calls were heard to picket the MVD building. After about an hour they moved on to the ministry with placards and slogans of a provocative nature: "Down with the Antipopular Militia!" "Why Are You Beating Your Brothers?" and "We Are Giving You a Holiday."

Despite repeated warnings and appeals from the militia to halt the unlawful actions, those who had gathered continue to behave in a challenging manner, inciting passers-by to join them. Some of the more aggressive rowdies were detained but the rest did not calm down and started calling for seizure of the building, taking reprisals against militia workers, and setting free those detained. The crowd moved to the main entrance. Some of the personnel of the ministry subdivision came out onto the steps. Insults were hurled from the crowd and rocks and Molotov cocktails were also thrown.

Help was needed from additional militia forces. All personnel of the special-purpose militia detachment were mobilized. The attackers were pushed back and another 75 people were detained. The militia dispersed the attackers several times but they again returned, trying to provoke a brawl. The unrestrained hooligans hurled a hail of rocks at the defensive detachments, upturned urns, placards, and street kiosks and telephone boxes, took construction lumber being used to repair the M. Eminescu Theater and raised a barricade across the Lenin Prospekt. The militia used special tear gas [spetssredstvo cheremukha] and fire hoses.

The ranks of the attackers continued to grow and soon numbered 10,000. At the request of the authorities, USSR people's deputies and leaders of the People's Front of Moldavia came to the site of the demonstration. They tried to appeal for calm and stop those present from storming the houses on Victory Square. But they failed. In order to avoid a clash the militia withdrew to the main entrance of the building, forming a "phalanx" with their shields. But the heat of the conflict grew and became a mass disorder. An overturned car was set afire and evil tongues of flame licked the MVD building; there was the tinkle of broken windows, and warning shots were fired into the air.

Finally those appealing for clam managed to move the ""storm troopers"" from Victory Square. At around midnight an impromptu meeting took place at which those attending raised the question of the government's resignation. They dispersed after 0200 hours after having resolved to gather on the square again on Sunday.

The city was frozen. Rumors circulated about massive casualties on both sides.

Late in the night there was a meeting of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. On the following day the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, Supreme Soviet Presidium, and republic Council of Ministers issued an appeal to the public. It noted that the events of the previous days had been the cause of profound alarm among all those who truly care for the future and the future of their children, and about the creation of a true law-governed state in which law and order would not be a plaything in the hands of hooligan elements and all kinds of extremists.

The whipping up of aggressiveness, the appeal emphasized, was political adventurism and an open struggle for power, the overthrow of the legally elected organs of the republic, and changes in the political structure of our

society. These provocative and essentially antiperestroyka actions will lead to destabilization of the sociopolitical situation and palpably delay the processes of radical transformations in the country initiated by the CPSU.

A special state commission has been set up and special measures have been adopted. They include blocking the entry of out-of-town traffic into the city, a ban on the appearance of juveniles on the streets and in parks and other public places after 2000 hours, and the holding of mass cultural and sports events. Preventive work has been started with persons registered with the militia. On Saturday more than 2,000 servicemen of the internal troops arrived at Kishinev airport from other parts of the country in large transport aircraft.

The overwhelming majority of the citizens responded positively to these forced measures, understanding that it is, of course, not some gift to have troops in helmets and bulletproof vests patrolling the streets of their city, but perhaps the only way to avoid an outbreak of violence. It was in this alarming atmosphere that Sunday arrived, when it was planned to hold a meeting of the People's Front of Moldavia. In the prevailing situation this could have led to unpredictable consequences. Accordingly, along with the campaigns organized by the mass media on the events that had taken place, statements were issued on television by the republic leaders, and also by the People's Front of Moldavia. This largely helped to stabilize the situation.

Having returned order after the disturbances, the public and labor collectives via the press and radio and television not only sharply assessed the actions of the People's Front of Moldavia with demands to punish those guilty, but also sharply raised the question of who specifically should be made responsible for what had happened.

"Today," Minister of Internal Affairs V. Garev reported, "more than 200 members of the militia have been injured because of the disorders. As far as is known, the number of injured among the public is about 50. Thus, in and of itself this shows who was doing the attacking and who the defending. And the nature of the serious injuries sustained by militia workers shows that it was not mere acts of hooliganism that were employed against them, but attempts to mutilate and even kill them.

The self-possession of the militia was largely instrumental in halting the escalation of the conflict. To judge from the way in which the attack was organized (in particular, attempts were made to hoist a tricolor above the ministry building) it was an action that someone was deliberately leading, for the pogrom-makers acted precisely at those premises where card indexes and weapons are located. Moreover, interference was generated on the frequencies used by the militia radio facilities. And the crime level that night was unusually low. The fact of the disturbance itself was a criminal matter and two groups of experienced specialists each made up of 50 people are investigating it. We are waiting for their conclusions.

"We are also waiting for the results of the work done by the commission set up by the Moldavian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium to investigate all the circumstances connected with the mass violations of public order," says the vice chairman of the People's Front of Moldavia Council, Yu. Roshka (his article "Let Us Not Rush to Conclusions" was published recently in the newspaper VECHERNYY KISHINEV). "The commission includes USSR people's deputies and representatives of the People's Front of Moldavia and the "Yedinstvo" movement. For we had nothing to do with the excesses that occurred. Public opinion was deluded. The authorities organized this act especially in order to frighten the people and finally compromise the People's Front of Moldavia as a political force on the eve of the election campaign.

"The People's Front of Moldavia has its own version of the development of events on 10 November. In fact, that evening several young people went to picket the MVD building, protesting the actions of the militia on 7 November directed against those who were blocking military equipment (on that day for the first time military vehicles did not take part in the holiday parade). Those besieging the ministry could have been joined by numerous passers-by and idlers, and it is not beyond the realm of possibility, also criminal elements."

"With regard to the tricolor flag that was raised over us at the height of the disturbances, it was really my idea," explains People's Front of Moldavia official secretary G. Gimpu. "When I arrived at the site of the disturbance along with the people's deputies and started to appeal for calm I found to my surprise that no members of the People's Front of Moldavia known to me were among the attackers. And when all means had been tried I had the idea of enticing everyone away from Victory Square using the tricolor flag. Thank God it worked."

And so, despite the diversity of opposing views and judgments, everyone connected with these events did agree on one thing; namely, that after investigating the cause-and-effect connections it is necessary to find and strictly punish those who caused and were to blame for the mass disorders. At the opening of the latest regular session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet have proposed that a special commission of deputies be set up to clarify the circumstances surrounding the events of 7 and 9 November. Time will tell who was responsible for the excesses.

And here we might place a period and await the further development of events. But when talking about the exacerbation of the sociopolitical situation in the republic and the train of extraordinary events that followed one after another, including the change of the republic's party organization's leadership, we cannot fail to notice that the reason for many of them is the difficult problems that have been building up in the republic, not only economic, political, social, and ecological, but also spiritual.

The energy released by the fresh wind of revolutionary changes has been rapidly spread to the meeting areas of many cities and villages in the republic and has led to the formation of various kinds of public organizations. Thus, the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers has already registered charters for the People's Front of Moldavia, the "Unitatya-Yedinstvo" movement, the "Gagauz Khalpy" people's movement, and the Bulgarian "Revival" Sociocultural Association.

The process of shaping new public forces in Moldavia resulting from the upsurge of political activeness among the workers and the growth of national self-awareness continues. However, at this historical crossroads of perestroyka we have seen not only an abundance of problems, but also great diversity in the approaches to resolving them. The palette is very mixed—from constructive proposals to help the party in the transformations that it has initiated to measures of the utmost extremism.

But, as was noted in the materials of the CPSU Central Committee plenum on the national question, just meetings and strikes will not solve all the problems. What is needed is tolerance, daily painstaking work with people, and the consolidation of all the progressive forces of perestroyka. The tone in this should be set by the communists on whose positions depend success in the matter and the possibility for our society to emerge at a new level of socioeconomic development. It was precisely about this that the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary P. Luchinskiy spoke when he appeared on television. Almost the entire population of the republic gathered at their television sets to listen to him last Sunday.

"I and many of my fellow countrymen place great hopes in his return to Moldavia," says D. Makovey, an inhabitant of the village of Shestach. "I am tired of looking for the truth by appealing to the authorities at various levels. And when Petr Kirillovich unexpectedly proposed to the television audience that they take note of his work telephone number and call him at any time in case of necessity, I wrote the number down. Too much has built up in my soul but even more remains to be done."

## Tarazevich on German, Tatar Ethnic Problems

*PM0512133189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 3*

[Interview with G. Tarazevich, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Commission for Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations, by V. Romanyuk "immediately after" 28 November 1989 sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet session, under the rubric "Nationalities Question: Policy and Practice": "Restoring Justice"—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] On 28 November 1989 the USSR Supreme Soviet session examined the conclusions and proposals of deputies' commissions on the problems of Soviet Germans and the Crimean Tatar people. The Supreme Soviet approved them and instructed the USSR Council of Ministers to set up state commissions to resolve practical questions associated with restoring the rights of Soviet Germans and Crimean Tatars.

Immediately after the sitting, IZVESTIYA correspondent V. Romanyuk met with G. Tarazevich, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities Commission for Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations, who delivered the report on this question.

[Romanyuk] Georgiy Stanislavovich, what was actually decided?

[Tarazevich] As you know, the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted 2 weeks ago a declaration recognizing as illegal all repressive acts against peoples subjected to forcible resettlement and on the unconditional restoration of their rights. A political, legal, and moral appraisal was thus made of Stalin's arbitrary rule. On this occasion I was instructed to report to the Supreme Soviet on proposals aimed at solving the problems of Soviet Germans and Crimean Tatars. By that time, the two special commissions formed on the instructions of the Congress of People's Deputies had completed their work. By the way, in addition to people's deputies, they also included representatives of the peoples whose future was being decided.

It was a matter of bringing people back to the places where they had lived through history. After all, the history of German settlements in Russia alone dates back centuries. Volga Germans played an active part in the October Revolution and then in the building of socialism, living in peace with their neighbors. But in August 1941 they were groundlessly accused of being accomplices of the German fascist invaders and were exiled, together with their families, to parts of Kazakhstan, Siberia, and Altay. They were drafted in labor battalions, and Soviet Germans spent many years living in the harshest conditions under a rigid regime. A series of decrees were adopted between the fifties and seventies freeing Soviet Germans from administrative oversight and they were allowed to settle in other regions of the country, including the places from where they were exiled. But there was no complete political rehabilitation.

[Romanyuk] Is this not the reason why there has been more emigration of Soviet Germans abroad, especially to the FRG?

[Tarazevich] Emigration really expanded on a massive scale. About 50,000 people left last year, and the figure for this year is expected to be even greater. In all, 207,000 Soviet citizens of German nationality have left the USSR, representing over 10 percent of the country's German population. One important reason behind this is the dissatisfaction that their native language, culture, and national traditions and customs are being lost.

Soviet Germans associate this fact with the elimination of their national statehood, the autonomous republic on the Volga.

Deputies traveled to the places most densely inhabited by Soviet Germans, studied their problems, and drew the following conclusion: If we are talking about the restoration of historical justice, Soviet Germans must be identified with the Volgograd and Saratov Oblast regions where they used to live. There can be no argument that people are drawn to their native places. The Germans whom I had an opportunity to meet believe that emigration must be cut back now and, moreover, it cannot be ruled out that some families who have gone abroad might return to the country.

[Romanyuk] But will there be no infringement of the rights and interests of the population now inhabiting the territory in question?

[Tarazevich] It is not necessary to take away from one person in order to give to another. Quite often both sides gain from combining forces. The most important principle when solving the questions of restoring the autonomous formation of Soviet Germans was actually the prevention of any infringement of the local population's rights. True, whereas proposals to recreate the German autonomous formation met with understanding in Volgograd Oblast, they have been warily received in Saratov Oblast. It seems to me that the reason is primarily that for decades the problems of Soviet Germans were passed over in silence and there was a distorted idea of the Soviet Germans' history. Furthermore, these lands became Saratov's "backyard" a long time ago and the local authorities are reluctant to lose it. It was even suggested that a Saratov Kray including an autonomous oblast for Soviet Germans be formed so as to retain economic control over the territory.

It seems to me, however, that all these fears are groundless. I am convinced that, following the Soviet Germans' return, the soil will not become less fertile—the opposite is more likely to occur. And if we are talking about restoring historical justice, we ought to talk about restoring not a truncated but a full German autonomous formation in the Volga valley.

It is, of course, not easy to solve the problem of resettling hundreds of thousands of people—367,000 Germans were exiled. We have to create a special state program and to seek and find the appropriate material, financial, and labor resources. Incidentally, the Soviet Germans are prepared to take on the solution of the problem of housing and amenities in the new localities; the republics and oblasts from which Soviet Germans will move will also make help available.

[Romanyuk] Is the number of settlers expected to be large?

[Tarazevich] Different figures are mentioned, ranging from 100,000 to 200,000 people.

[Romanyuk] Is there no question of partial eviction of residents from rayons to which Soviet Germans will be returning?

[Tarazevich] No, this question was never raised. Assuming that a rayon's agrarian sector needs no additional labor resources, the question of creating processing production units will be examined. Other options are also possible.

[Romanyuk] The problem of the Crimean Tatars has proved more acute. One recalls their noisy demonstrations in Moscow and the conflicts in the Crimea. What was the cause of this exacerbation?

[Tarazevich] There were several causes. It is well known that, in the postwar period, a series of legislative acts repealed state organs' decisions as regards the accusations of treason against Crimean Tatars; they were given the right to live anywhere in the USSR. But their return to the Crimea was artificially restricted until very recently. So the process of resettlement got out of control, accompanied by arbitrary occupation of land and unauthorized construction [samostroy]. Leaders of a number of Bakhchisarayskiy Rayon farms appealed to me to try and influence the situation: The Crimean Tatars' inalienable rights must be satisfied, but without the creation of extreme situations. In this context, I received an explanatory report from the chairman of Crimean Oblast Soviet Executive Committee.

But what is happening today? Despite the changes in the Crimea's demographic situation, there are still many abandoned villages, especially in foothill rayons, and the resettlement of Crimean Tatars could be completely painless. There are also problems, of course. Prices of construction materials have shot up as a result of the construction boom. Neither the Crimea nor the Volga River valley has any timber. I believe that the first step must be the building of brick plants and the development of a construction industry. Once the housing problem is solved, all the rest will sort itself out. I think that the status of the Crimean Oblast must be raised to the level of autonomous republic, as it was until the Crimean Tatars were exiled.

[Romanyuk] Georgiy Stanislavovich, to be completely honest, don't you feel that by taking these humane steps we are creating some new and serious problems for ourselves?

[Tarazevich] I bear this constantly in mind. When taking steps to restore historical justice, we are bound to act on a strictly democratic basis and without going too far. We would like to see the new structures developing spontaneously, to see them strengthening rather than weakening both sides. We rely on people's common sense. As long as there is no temptation to resort to the old political methods, to diktat by the authorities.

[Romanyuk] Could we be said to have achieved a political solution of the problems of Soviet Germans and Crimean tatars?

[Tarazevich] In principle, yes: We have gained the USSR Supreme Soviet's support. Now it is a matter of government commissions being created and getting down to work as soon as possible. It is very important to ensure a clear-cut solution of the entire package of questions, both organizational and financial, concerning people's resettlement and their establishment in the new places. Our proposals will also be examined by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation and the Ukraine. And since the problem also involves constitutional amendments, it also ought to be submitted to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

### Kalinin City to Regain Former Name

*PM2111134189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Nov 89 First Edition p 6*

[Report by Yu. Burov: "Tver Will Be!"]

[Text] Kalinin—That is what the people's deputies of the city and rayon soviets of the oblast center decided by a majority of votes at their joint session.

The movement to return its ancient name to the city of Kalinin has been continuing for years now. Enthusiasts and patriots of their homeland have collected tens of thousands of signatures for the resurrection of historical values. The people's elected representatives now also have voted for the reasonableness of this approach. Here is the full text of the decision they have passed: "We deem correct the position of the CPSU Oblast Committee, the Oblast Soviet Executive Committee, the city party committee, city soviet, public organizations, creative unions, and independent formations on the return to the city of its former name. We support the appeal of the party oblast committee to the CPSU Central Committee and the appeal from the oblast's USSR people's deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on this question and ask the legislators to return the name of Tver to the city."

### Belorussian Supreme Soviet 5 Dec Session Viewed

*LD0512141489 Moscow TASS in English 1329 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Minsk December 5 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Bekhterev:

Belorussia's Supreme Soviet, at today's session, endorsed the plan for the socio-economic development of the republic for 1990. Its aim is to lead the republic out of a protracted economic crisis and to improve the living standards of the Belorussian people.

Chairman of the Republican State Planning Committee Vyacheslav Kebych talked about the specific features of the plan.

"The social programme envisages the construction of 118,000 flats and individual houses—a 30 percent increase over the past, 11th five-year plan's average annual figure. Allotments for environmental protection will almost double.

"A special part of the programme provides for measures to eliminate the aftermath of the Chernobyl accident. It is planned to build 5,500 houses, scores of hospitals, schools and clubs for the people who were relocated from the radioactive contamination zone. The necessary funds, over 700 million roubles will be provided by the union government.

"The plan also gives priority to the interests of countryside residents, elderly and invalids. About a billion roubles will be spent to improve conditions in the countryside. Old age and disability pensions and also allowances to poor families will increase greatly. In 1990, expenditures for state measures to improve living standards will increase by approximately 260 percent over 1989.

"To find the necessary resources, the republican government, at the deputies' demand, reduced by approximately 10 percent the capital investment in production, Kebich stressed. State subsidies will go only to enterprises of precision machine building, electronics and other industries crucial for scientific-technological progress. Their accelerated development will make it possible to increase labour productivity in the republican national economy by 7 percent.

"The technical reequipment of enterprises will go along with a management reform. The republic will become economically independent on January 1, 1990. This will help to accelerate the development of market relations and increase work collectives' inteests in the results of their work. To earn more money for their development, enterprises will increase the output of consumer goods by 18-20 percent. Many defence industry factories in the republic are converting to produce consumer goods. They will produce personal computers, cameras and refrigerators."

### Lithuanian Social Democrats Hold Party Congress

*LD0512041389 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0100 GMT 3 Dec 89*

[Summary] The last congress of the Lithuanian Democrats was the 13th in succession, and it took place 58 years ago. Today the 14th Congress of the Lithuanian Social Democrats Party [LSDP] began in Vilnius.

Reporting from the congress Juozas Kavolis said that the LSDP had never ceased to exist because it continued to be active under the same name in exile in the West.

Representatives of the delegations from abroad greeted the Congress of about 400 people strong: Vytautas Bilaitis from West Germany and Klemensas Tamosaitis from England.

Vytenis Andriukaitis, a Vilnius doctor, an active member of the LSDP, said the most important mission

of the 14th LSDP Congress is to reestablish social democracy as a legal political force in Lithuania.

Today there are about 500 members of the Lithuanian Social Democrats Party. Vytenis Andriukaitis believes the conditions for the growth of the party membership are present.

### Opt for Independence

*LD0512134389 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0100 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Summary] Vilnius radio journalist Audrius Matonis reports from the Congress of the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party:

The 14th Congress of the Lithuanian SDP has ended. This congress reconstituted the SDP in Lithuania. After the 13th congress the LSDP was closed by the president of the republic and after the Soviet occupation the party was banned altogether. After the war the party continued its activity in exile in the West.

The party declared at the congress that its main objective is the independence of Lithuania and its social and political welfare. A draft program of activity was discussed, after which there was a public discussion. The draft program of the LSDP will be adopted at the next congress. The party's strategy and ideological concepts are outlined in the general program, whereas the program of activity outlines the tactics and the concrete measures for its implementation.

So, the LSDP's main objective is the restoration of an independent democratic republic of Lithuania. However, this objective could hardly surprise any of the currently existing political parties or public organizations. But the SDP looks more interesting with regard to economic and social issues. Therefore, it is not accidental that an economist has been elected chairman of the LSDP. He is Professor Kazimieras Antanavicius, who is also a member of the Sajudis Seimas Council.

It should be noted that the SDP congress was convened on the eve of the extraordinary congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party [LCP]. As is known, the LCP will discuss the reform of the communist party at the congress. These reforms could bring the LCP closer to the principles of social democracy.

Gintautas Iesmantas, member of the LSDP Presidium, a journalist and a former political prisoner, pointed out that the social democrats deliberately tried to outstrip the communists so that they in their turn would not be forestalled at their congress with adopted program documents. When asked to express his point of view on a possible future rapprochment or perhaps even merging of the reformed LCP with the reconstituted LSDP, G.Iesmantas said:

"These issues have not yet been raised. At the moment we cannot aim at a dialogue specifically because as long as Article six of the Constitution remains in power, we do not have equal positions.

"The main point is that the LCP has not yet rejected the bolshevik theory, the theory of bolshevism as a theory of repression; this theory has not yet been denounced. They have not yet rejected the principles of democratic centralism which, in a sense, regulates the party's activity as well as the activities of the community at large. These are the main obstacles which prevent us establishing a dialogue with the communist party.

"If these obstacles are removed then, of course, we will cooperate with them on the basis of the aspiration for independence."

Justas Paleckis, head of the ideology department at the LCP Central Committee, was asked the same question. Like G.Iesmantas, he believes it is unrealistic that these two parties could merge into one in the near future. However, he agreed that the process of rapprochment between the two parties is taking place.

Justas Paleckis said: "To speak about merging is not realistic at present. Time will show what will take place in future. It seems to me that we can speak about a certain rapprochment of the two parties with regard to their program documents, the rapprochment which is currently taking place. We can speak about it positively because if the CPSU finds it necessary to learn from the social democrats, then the LCP, which is becoming independent, has been doing it, I must say, for some time already. Now, in the preparation of the current program document, contacts have been established with social democrats in Sweden, West Germany, and in other countries as well.

"With regard to the LSDP, there is no doubt that we have to wait and see if this party can work, although the party's program documents include many interesting things which I think will attract the people of Lithuania and which are rather close in many respects to our program documents."

Resolutions on the defense of human rights in the republic and the ecology were also adopted at the LSDP congress. Although K.Antanavicius, chairman of the LSDP, said that there is no need to legalize the LSDP because it is simply continuing its work, the application for the party's registration was sent to the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR. The LSDP is to nominate their candidates in the upcoming elections to the republican Supreme Soviet.

### Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Session Resumes 4 Dec

*PM0512163389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Dec 89 Second Edition p 2*

[ELTA-TASS report: "Session Continues"]

[Text] Vilnius, 4 Dec—The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet session has resumed here after a 9-day interval. The agenda includes the

discussion of Lithuanian SSR draft laws on the election of local soviet deputies and the rights of Lithuanian trade unions. The session has also submitted for ratification the draft state plan for the republic's economic and social development and the republic's budget for 1990, and other questions are being discussed.

The session has adopted a law on the procedure for paying pensions to working pensioners. It has been decided that, as of January 1990, social insurance funds will be used to pay old-age pensions in full to pensioners working in the republic's national economy, irrespective of their earnings.

The session is continuing.

### Discusses Constitution

*LD0512175889 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 4 Dec 89*

[Edvinas Butkus commentary]

[Excerpt] After a 12 day break, the 15th session of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet resumed its work in Vilnius today. As we predicted on Friday commenting upon the plenum of the Lithuanian communist Party held that day, the session has once again included into the agenda the issue on Article 6 of the Constitution which enshrines the one-party system and domination of the Soviet Union's Communist Party in all the spheres of life. [passage omitted recalling last month's decision to discuss the issue at the 16th Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session]

This morning, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Lionginas Sepetys [Sepetys is presiding over Supreme Soviet session; Astrauskas is Supreme Soviet chairman] said as though nothing were the matter that there was a proposal to consider this already outdated constitutional article at the current session. According to the agenda, the debates on the issue will most probably be held tomorrow—177 MPs voted for the issue to be included into the agenda, 72 were against and 29 abstained. These results lead one to believe that one of the most controversial articles of the constitution at present may be, after all, changed tomorrow.

The constitutional commission held its sitting tonight in connection with this issue. However, when MP Zigmas Vayshvila proposed to urgently re-elect the current Supreme Soviet Presidium except recently appointed members, only 31 deputies voted for including the issue into the agenda, and 203 were against it. Zigmas Vayshvila used as arguments those concrete examples which have not been sufficiently proved as yet and general statements on the Presidium's inactivity and procrastination of some decisions of the Supreme Soviet. Especially active at the session this time were the Soviet union's people's deputies for Lithuania—the majority of them being members of the Sajudis [Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring] Seimas council.

First of all, after the agenda was agreed upon, two statements were made, in fact, expressing nonconfidence to Minister of Trade Leonas Riauba and demanding urgent and fundamental reforms in the trading system. Reigning there at present is doubtlessly a profiteers' mafia. Then the people's deputies of the Soviet Union torpedoed the Presidium's proposal on the composition and chairman of the central election commission to hold the elections to the Supreme Soviet. As was reported by secretary of the Supreme Soviet Liudvikas Sabutis, 18 political and public movements and organizations had nominated 22 candidates for the commission. Having discussed the proposals, the Presidium chose 15 members to sit on the commission as it had been envisaged and proposed as chairman Vacvlovas (?Lycinas), first secretary of the Kaisiadoris Communist Party Committee.

As we have mentioned already, the proposal was torpedoed outright and chairman of the Sajudis Seimas Council, USSR People's Deputy Vytautas Landsbergis, was most outspoken in his speech. He asked the Presidium if it had thought of the public's reaction if communist Party functionaries were to head the republic's election commission during the most decisive elections for Lithuania. He argued that a major political crisis could be provoked by such an act. Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Lionginas Sepetys advised the Presidium to withdraw its proposal and toward the end of the evening sitting, new proposals were tabled by the Presidium. Corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences Juozas Bulovas was elected chairman of the republic's election commission. [passage omitted recalling Bulovas' expulsion from the Communist Party in 1959 for his political views] The above Communist Party representative Vaclovas (?Lycinas) was elected vice chairman.

The draft law on the rights of Lithuania's trade unions was subjected to harsh criticism at the session, though Chairman of Lithuania's Trade Union Council Lionginas Maksimovas was only out to publish the draft law in the press for public discussion. Such a decision was taken in the long-run, setting the deadline for the discussion at 1 February. The most constructive criticism of the draft was voiced by MP Romualdas Ozolas. He maintained that by this law the trade unions wanted to prolong their existence and to disguise their actual problems. One must speak about man's social rights and different organizations, independent trade unions among them to defend those rights Romualdas Ozolas said.

Well, today the Supreme Soviet itself took a concrete step to expand man's social rights. A special law was passed providing for full retirement pensions to be paid from social insurance funds to pensioners working in the national economy regardless of their wages. As is known, different restrictions have been in force up to now defining the maximum sum not to be exceeded. The law is to come into force as of 1 January.

### Butkus Comments on Medvedev Visit, Outcome

*LD0512121289 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0100 GMT 3 Dec 89*

[Commentary by Edvinas Butkus]

[Excerpts] During his visit to Vilnius V. Medvedev did not avoid contact with journalists, and he concluded his last interview with his wishes of success to the Lithuanian Communist Party in the upcoming elections to the Supreme Soviet and the local soviets.

Today, during his meeting with workers of Lithuanian culture and science, he also concluded by mentioning the elections. He was given a straightforward question: Would the following variant satisfy the leaders in Moscow—the Lithuanian Communist Party remains within the CPSU, but loses its ruling power in the elections.

The answer was also a straightforward one: No, this variant would not be satisfactory. [passage omitted]

An interesting and difficult to disapprove of counter argument directed against the stereotype of party unity was presented by sociologist Prof. Arvydas Matulionis. He asked: What sort of unity links the Armenian, Georgian, and Azerbaijan Communist Parties? This question of course remained unanswered. Many other questions such as ignoring the miners' strikes, the Armed Forces, were also unanswered, other statements voiced by the speakers were categorically rejected by V. Medvedev. The first to be rejected was the statement by Virgilijus Cepaitis, responsible secretary of Sajudis, saying that the Soviet Union is a unitarian state and is a direct continuation of the Russian empire. Apart from other ideas, V. Cepaitis invited the USSR leadership to establish direct contacts with the Lithuanian restructuring movement, Sajudis, and the People's Fronts of Estonia and Latvia. V. Medvedev answered that contacts with public movements were not avoided. [passage omitted]

Today an appeal by the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee to all electors, party organizations, and public movements was published. The appeal says that the Lithuanian Communist Party has begun its independent life and is prepared, together with other progressive forces, to implement the aspirations of the Lithuanian Nation and all the people of Lithuania to set up an independent and socialist democratic state.

### Lithuanian Poles' Aspirations Detailed

*PM0512160589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 89 pp 2-3*

[Article by special correspondent M. Botyan and own correspondent V. Zarovskiy: "Anatomy of 'Autonomy.' Polemical Notes on Problems of the Polish Minority in Lithuania"]

[Excerpts] One September day the quiet, measured life of the cozy little rayon city of Shalchininkay was shattered by an unusual event of a political nature.

The wind of perestroyka tore into a corner of Lithuania whose inhabitants are overwhelmingly (81.4 percent) of Polish origin. Only during the October festivals and on May Day had so many people gathered in the city's central square. Never before had so many high-ranking persons from the republic capital and so many USSR people's deputies come at once to Shalchininkay. Never had rallies like this one been held here. There was a multitude of posters and banners with slogans over people's heads. One speaker succeeded another. The Poles loudly reminded people that they have their own specific problems.

The rally passions were transferred to the sessions hall of the House of Soviets, where a rayon session of the soviet of people's deputies was held. The heated debate resulted in this session decision: "To proclaim Shalchininkskiy Rayon a Polish national territorial rayon with self-management within the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]." The news from Shalchininkay was greeted in a quite definite manner in Lithuania. A few days later the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium declared that decision out of line with the republic constitution. A similar decision of the Vilnyusskiy Rayon session was also evaluated likewise. "Wrangling" over resolutions and statements by various commissions and soviets began in the republic and local press, and more and more people were drawn into the arguments.

According to statistics, 270,000 Poles live in Lithuania, and 2 million live throughout the Soviet Union. What did we know about the fate of this people in our country? Not much. Just as with, incidentally, the Germans, Crimean Tatars, and Meskhetian Turks. The reason for our ignorance will become clear if we leaf through pages of our history. [Passage omitted dealing with history of Russian-Polish relations dating back to 17th century, fate of Polish populations on Soviet territory during thirties and forties of 20th century, Lithuania's alternating between Soviet and Polish rule]

After the war thousands of Poles left Vilnius and its vicinity. It was primarily the intelligentsia who left. Those who were closer to the land and a handicraft remained in their motherland. In Lithuania today there are four rayons with a compact Polish population: Vilnyusskiy, Shalchininkskiy, Trakayskiy, and Shvenchenskiy. Poles make up 18 percent of the population of Vilnius.

Lithuania's Poles found themselves in a more advantageous position than their confreres in Belorussia, the Ukraine, and other republics. This was to the considerable credit of Ar. anas Snechkus, who headed the Lithuanian Communist Party for many years. Even under the incredibly complex conditions of Stalinism he managed to uphold decisions that were unpopular with the center. Some 250 Polish schools were opened in the Vilnius region. The republic newspaper CZERWONY SZTANDAR ("RED BANNER") began coming out in Polish in 1953, three rayon newspapers are duplicated, and there are radio and television programs. In Vilnius

Pedagogical Institute there is a group in which teachers are trained in the Polish language.

Did this cultural and educational infrastructure resolve all the problems of the Polish minority in Lithuania? Probably not. Particularly as the policy of a unified community had been proclaimed in the country. But what if we rise higher and take a broader look at the problem? Is it possible to find a country in the world where a small ethnic group has not come under the influence of a large nation? Even closed Red Indian reservations experience influence from outside. Whether the maximum preconditions have been created for the small people's national self-preservation is another matter. In one of the "independent" Vilnius newspapers we read an old Polish woman's sacramental admission: "It was the Lithuanians who thought up Polish schools for our children, so that they cannot go on to further study."

No one in Lithuania has set the goal of closing down Polish schools. But their numbers have been declining inexorably. Today just 88 remain. In Shalchininkskiy Rayon three-fourths of schoolchildren attend Russian schools.

Poles believe that the rayons where they live have ended up in a more difficult socioeconomic position. Per capita capital investments in construction, including housing construction, are allocated to Shalchininkskiy Rayon considerably below the republic level. The number of specialists with secondary and higher education in the rayon is 20-30 percent lower than in the republic.

As we see, the Polish population in Lithuania had its own specific problems. And when the process of national rebirth began in the republic, it could not fail to draw into its maelstrom Lithuanians and then also representatives of other peoples: Poles, Russians, Belorussians, Jews, Karaim, Tatars. Political euphoria filled the republic. Leaflets, various appeals, and rallies appeared and new laws, decrees, and resolutions were hurriedly drawn up.

However, the Lithuanians treated the national rebirth of other peoples, particularly the Poles, with tolerance and even sympathy, and they still do so today. The first Polish cultural educational society in the USSR came into being in Lithuania a year ago. Its first congress was held in the spring and transformed the society into the Union of Lithuanian Poles. There has been a sharp increase in contacts between local Poles and their fellow countrymen from Poland. True, the recent decision by the Lithuanian authorities limiting entry to the republic for citizens from Poland understandably aroused no enthusiasm at all on the Polish side.

And now a magical concept is coming to the front of the political stage—"Polish autonomy." But the magic of the words in themselves frequently excites people more than their content.

In an interview for the newspaper ZYCIE WARSZAWY USSR People's Deputy Yan Tikhonovich declares that the creation of Polish autonomous oblasts in Lithuania, Belorussia, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Latvia will be the first step toward real equality of rights for Poles in the USSR. There are among Lithuanian scientists applied historiographers, if we may put it like this, who have suddenly "discovered" that the Poles of Lithuania are not Poles at all but Polonized Lithuanians. Passions, passions... A number of apylinka (village) soviets in Shalchininkskiy and Vilnyusskiy Rayons are declaring themselves Polish national apylinkas (the Lithuanians understand "autonomous"). It is hard to imagine what an autonomous village soviet is like. No one can explain clearly the significance of a national-territorial rayon either.

We will not cavil at words and concepts. Let us try to understand what lies behind them.

"It is not a matter of autonomy," L. Yankelevich, chairman of Shalchininkskiy Soviet Executive Committee, said. "The unjust language law prompted us to make this decision. No, we are not against the Lithuanian language. However, how are we to understand the republic Council of Ministers resolution 'On Measures To Ensure the Use of the State Language of the Lithuanian SSR'? Is it realistic for all establishments in our rayon to switch to Lithuanian in the space of 2 years? According to a republic State Agro-Industrial Committee circular, even a warehouse worker must be able to use the state language in 2 years' time. The language must be taught. But by whom? This year the rayon needed 14 Lithuanian language teachers. Only two came."

Zdzislav Palevich, first secretary of the Lenin Communist Youth League rayon committee, supports the viewpoint of the rayon soviet executive committee chairman:

"The shortage of teachers to teach Lithuanian is one reason. Another, no less important one is the lack of a milieu for contacts. Shalchininkskiy Rayon is not Vilnius. My father does not speak Lithuanian at all, while I now speak it tolerably well. I hope that my son will know it to perfection. It takes years. The generations must succeed one another."

Today even the Lithuanian side realizes that it has been hasty. The specific nature of the Polish rayons was not taken into account in the language question.

They have been hasty... Is there not too much haste? Some hastily adopt laws, others hastily proclaim national-territorial rayons. Some hurriedly make demands of various kinds, others no less hurriedly promise to satisfy them. Does it not seem that we have already been through something similar? We were in a hurry to establish a world revolution. To carry out universal collectivization. And, later, no less universal "cornification" ["kukuruzatsiya"]. Today we are reaping bitter fruits. Do we not have such a hard life because we

are unable to see problems in all their multilayered and voluminous nature and do not attempt to examine all their facets?

Every problem has a complex equation. You can understand our interlocutors' anxiety at the development of their native tongue. In everyday life people communicate by means of a mixture of Polish, Russian, and Belorussian. On an official level they use Russian. The whole trouble is the narrow circle of practitioners of the Polish literary language. For every 1,000 of the republic's population 197 Lithuanians have had higher education, but only 32 Poles. An insulting figure. But however much you feel insulted, things will not get easier. You will not extend the ranks of the intelligentsia in a mass way.

Yanush Oblachinskiy, chairman of the Shalchininkay branch of the Union of Lithuanian Poles, sees great potential for educating the national intelligentsia in an increased volume of higher education in the native tongue. Why not enlarge the Polish group at Vilnius Pedagogical Institute? And perhaps think about creating a separate Polish higher educational institution? Where it would be possible to acquire such mass preofessions as physician or agricultural specialist? Where not only the Poles of Lithuania but also those of other parts of the USSR could study?

What if a graduate of a Polish school wants to become an astronomer? Or a journalist? Where is he to go to study? He can, of course, go to study in Poland. Last year, incidentally, 20 secondary school graduates from the Vilnius area entered higher educational institutions in Poland. But this is not a way out. Despite everything, representatives of minorities are doomed to a knowledge of at least two languages. Poles, Tatars, and Karaim alike.

Two people living as neighbors beneath the same roof is a delicate matter. Each of them has its own traditions, its own historical sentimentalities, its own heroes.

Until recently the Armia Krajowa (created by the emigre government in London) was outlawed in Poland. Only recently did this "white" spot disappear from Polish history. Monuments and memorial plaques began to appear in Poland... rightly and deservedly.

Initiators have been found who have erected two memorials to the Armia Krajowa in Lithuania's Polish rayons. But people here also have other memories of certain soldiers of that army. In Lithuania, as in western Belorussia, they shot not only fascists, and the words "AK" and "AK soldier" make many people shudder. For the Lithuanian and Belorussian peoples the Armia Krajowa is not at all a "white" spot but a black one, without quotation marks.

Should we dramatize the situation over the problems of the Polish minority? We do not think there has been a disaster in Lithuania. The history of the cohabitation of the two peoples—Poles and Lithuanians—does not recall internecine clashes. And such a very important factor as the common religion must not be forgotten.

In principle, if we ponder the matter, the supporters of "autonomy" are breaking down an open door. Only the chief link by the name of the economy can pull out the whole chain of the huge number of large and small problems in Lithuania, as throughout the country. In the context of Lithuania's economic independence a law on self-management and the local economy is being prepared. Any rayon, regardless of its national makeup, must become economically independent and self-managing. And there will be no more grounds for any talk of insults or hurts proceeding from above.

Today just one road leads to the temple of agreement—compromise. The search is already on for it. The republic leadership has made concessions in the sphere of realizing the language law. The duration of Polish-language television and radio broadcasts will be increased. The possibilities of extending the base of higher education in Polish are being examined. A law on the nationalities inhabiting the Lithuanian SSR is being drawn up, and a Committee for Affairs of National Minorities has been set up.

Will we find in the world even one state with such a noisy cacophony of departmental motives?! Will we soon stop amazing the whole world with endless arithmetic calculations: Who wounds whom, and how? Will any good come of the persistent search for long-standing grudges and of the resurrection in the memory of old borders which have changed many times? Let us think about the future. Let us not befog the clear heads of those kids whom the authors of these lines saw at Vilnyusskiy Rayon's Nemenchine Secondary School. It greeted us with the polyglot sounds of many children's voices: Lithuanian, Russian, Polish. School Director Antanas Marinauskas communicates equally well with those in his charge in all three languages. We could not help recalling a cartoon by a Lithuanian artist. The arm of a drowning man is sticking out of the water. A passerby on the bank contemplates his confrere's plight and asks: "What nationality are you?"

Melancholy humor.

## Medvedev Warns Lithuanians Against Party Split

*LD0112123589 Moscow TASS in English 1947 GMT 30 Nov 89*

[Text] Vilnius November 30 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Kazis Uscila:

Vadim Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee, has favoured the expansion of the rights of the Communist Parties in the union republics within the renewing Soviet Communist Party which is the initiator and guarantor of further restructuring, or perestroika.

Medvedev today met the delegates to the 20th Extraordinary Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party from the party organisations of Vilnius, the capital of this Baltic Republic.

A little more than two weeks remain before the opening of the forum of Lithuanian Communists who are planning to adopt new programmes and rules of the party and define guidelines for the further development of the processes of renewal.

Statements by the delegates who addressed the meeting convincingly confirmed the fact that communists have not as yet formed a single viewpoint on ways to resolve many problems to be tackled by the Congress.

Some saw the future of the Lithuanian Communist Party only within the renewing single, multi-ethnic Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Others opted for an independent communist party with its own programme and rules that would maintain equal relations with the Soviet Communist Party and other parties.

"The solution of the republic's ethnic and state problems is possible only in close interrelationship with the further development of perestroika," Medvedev said.

"The aspiration of certain forces to drive a wedge between the Lithuanian Communist Party and the Soviet Communist Party will benefit no one but will only complicate the process of perestroika.

"One should think that the Lithuanian Communists will take sensible decisions that will facilitate the consolidation of our ranks and contribute to the common process of renewal."

### Lithuanians 'Eagerly' Anticipate Congress

*PM0112161989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: On the Threshold of he Party Forum"]

[Text] Vilnius, 30 Nov—The 20th Extraordinary Congress of Lithuanian Communists will begin its work in 3 weeks' time. The republic is eagerly anticipating this event. The names of 1,040 delegates to the party forum are already known. The Communist Party Central Committee will gather tomorrow for its plenum in which V.A. Medvedev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, will participate. Today he met with delegates to the Lithuanian Communist Party Congress drawn from Vilnius' party organizations, who will make up around one-fourth of all the participants in the upcoming forum.

All those present probably agreed on one thing—that the extraordinary congress will become an important landmark in the Communist Party's life. Even now, the Communists are looking for answers to questions that are worrying them. On the one hand, the view is being clearly voiced that the very logic of the process of giving real substance to the republic's sovereignty predetermines the inevitability of isolating the Lithuanian Communist Party.

On the other hand, there were the views expressed by advocates of an attitude which is based on the conviction that any hasty and rash decisions are contraindicated. Some delegates believe that a well-considered and wise attitude involves preserving the CPSU's organizational unity, especially in the present, complex phase of perestroyka. They believe that if the Lithuanian Communist Party receives separate status, this will damage both it and the CPSU's authority.

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee spoke in favor of preventing one-sided decisions from being adopted, which could cause delimitations in the party on a national basis and even lead to a split. The efforts of all the republic's Communists are needed to oppose this.

The problems which will be put forward at the upcoming Lithuanian Communist Party Congress were discussed with animation at V.A. Medvedev's meeting with the party aktiv and workers from the "Venta" science-and-production association. The importance of the USSR Law "On the Economic Autonomy of the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian Soviet Socialist Republics [SSR's]," which was adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet, was noted here, as in the republic as a whole, with satisfaction. It was stressed that this step really advances the task of reviving the federation of sovereign republics in line with Leninist principles, and that it was made primarily thanks to the CPSU's stance in nationalities policy. This once again testifies to the fact that there is no problem in national development that cannot be resolved in the general flux of perestroyka.

On the same day, V.A. Medvedev met with the first secretaries of the Republic Communist Party Rayon and City Committees.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary and members of the Lithuanian SSR laid flowers at the V.I. Lenin memorial.

### Brazauskas Discusses Economy, Politics

*18090126 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 25 Oct 89 pp 1, 3*

[TIESA Information report on meeting with Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party, and Justas Paleckis, chief of the Ideology Section of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, and TIESA journalists, entitled "Independence: Idea And Reality"—date not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The first secretary of the Communist Party of Lithuania [CPLi] Central Committee [CC], Algirdas Brazauskas, and the chief of the CPLi CC's Ideology Section, Justas Paleckis, visited the TIESA Editorial

Office. The republic's political and economic situation, as well as the CPLi's independence and preparation for the 20th CPLi Congress were discussed. We present the most important thoughts of this conversation for our readers.

**Sovereignty, Not Separatism**

The 21st Plenum of the CPLi CC is being widely discussed by the party organization and among various public groups, said A. Brazauskas. "I stated in the opening address that this is to be a decisive step on the road to self-determination. The 20th party congress will have to decide how we are to proceed along the path of history.

"The situation is not simple. It can be sensed from the people's mood and it is being discussed by communists at meetings. It seems to me party discussion has been somewhat one-sided, both within the CPSU structure and outside it, in this transitional period (it is difficult to deny, it is so) and our relations with the CPSU must change dynamically. Yes, we do want to become independent and that is understandable—present realities deny, in a practical sense, the 1919 decisions that gave the CPLi only the rights of an area organization. In reconsidering the current country structure, the CPSU structure must be examined openly. A union of free sovereign republics, but in our opinion, a union is qualitatively higher in stature than a federation; it must also correspond to party organization structure.

Currently, however, many arguments are being raised concerning our state itself. To date, I would consider these arguments somewhat theoretical. M. Gorbachev notes it is imperative to supplement the federation idea with new content. It is not known as yet what its contents will be, although it seems the solution to this problem is also becoming imminent. In Lithuania this regulation has already acquired some actual features: economic and political sovereignty and economic and diplomatic relations with foreign countries. Recently we sent a comprehensive letter to USSR Foreign Minister E. Shevardnadze in which we proposed the opening of Lithuanian consulates in the United States, West Germany, and other neighboring countries that have large numbers of Lithuanian emigrants.

The USSR is a unique state whose structure must be juridically and theoretically appraised. What type of state is this state? I think this will be reflected in the new USSR Constitution. A commission has been established to draft the new USSR Constitution and I am among its members. However, it has not yet been convened, although certain of its preparations are underway.

Being mindful of future plans, we are preparing and discussing statute and program drafts. Some become frightened by the deliberation of such documents. We are immediately accused of "separatism" and similar transgressions. We are already well aware, however, that a desire for independence does not constitute extremism. It is a natural desire of communists. Perhaps it does not fall in with the old traditions that have been in existence in the country, but restructuring processes must also become dynamic within the party itself. M. Gorbachev himself, discusses that frequently, by the way.

**Economy: Nice Theoretically Speaking, But In Practice?**

We are preparing, along with Latvia and Estonia, to manage our own economy. By the way, as I read articles on economics, I notice individual examples are often taken out of context. For instance, how many discussions have appeared concerning our own currency! However, that is only one of the possible measures that can be employed to deal with inflation and to dissociate oneself from other negative economic phenomena. However, it is neither a panacea nor a guarantee that the minute the litas [Lithuanian unit of currency] is put into circulation everything will immediately fall into place. After exchanging all the rubles for the litas, inflationary processes will still continue. The litas must be backed by material securities.

General articles are needed to explain how the republic economy can be vitalized in actuality. Scientists are currently responsible for most of the articles that appear in the press. I am not opposed to such articles. I am acquainted with many economists and have myself worked in the economic area; however, currently the authors of many of the articles give a very theoretical portrayal of economic processes and get away from reality. Objective precepts of economics need to be adapted and actual anti-inflationary measures must be instituted in real life. There exists a need for serious discussion and deliberation of this topic. The reader meanwhile should be able to comprehend, upon opening the newspaper, why we are doing this and to note that and the sources for obtaining the products, as well as the raw materials, know what we have to offer to the world and what we need to secure from it in return. On the basis of equal exhange, of course. We must keep in mind that no state gives or will give anything in exhange for a mere thank you, although they may declare their greatest feelings of support for us. Some very knowledgeable trade people have told me and others this. Their reasoning is very rational: you can leave the USSR if you wish to do so, but we will wait. However, under those circumstances you are not our partners. You have no raw materials, no good production, and the world has almost a surplus of bacon and meat, even without you. Also, these happen to be cheap in the outside world. In addition to that, they have to be transported to the world market. That is no longer an area for theoretical reasoning, but rather for actual and persistent labor.

Another opinion abounds: In 1919, independent Lithuania managed to stand on its own feet! Let's look at that period, with an economist's eye, however, and we shall see that at that time the economy was natural, without any industrial, technical, or energy requirements. I have already stated earlier that Lithuania consumed 400 tons of kerosene per annum, while currently it consumes nearly 8 million tons of fuel oil products per

annum. Lithuania's economy had its beginnings in this type of natural economy and accomplished a great deal in 20 years. No one can deny this. Lithuania's current situation is, however, very different, its economic relations are different, and finally, the current geopolitical situation and relations with neighbors to the West and to the East are different. In depicting ourselves as realists we cannot deceive people with plans that have not yet been sufficiently tested. A "fourth-world country" level will not satisfy either Lithuania, or you, or me. The economy will also experience a time of transition. We are approaching it.

**The Center And Us**

Currently we are engaged in a struggle for the republic's economic independence. It has not been juridically established yet and regrettably has been postponed until November. Fulfillment of all the plans still faces us. What type of bridge is to connect our republic with this "strong" center, that has been maligned by all? We will be forced to resolve these problems, whether willingly or unwillingly, since the slamming of doors does not yet constitute an economy.

We will be accorded attention only if we manage, during the course of our congress, to avoid a split in our party and the emergence of alternative structures. New relations must be forged with the CPSU, but one cannot escape from life. Many more problems will have to be resolved in Moscow and we will have to hold many more discussions concerning the future. In order to become equal partners, we must maintain Lithuanian Communist Party unity.

In addition to other things, we still persist in frightening one another with this center—I have in mind the CPSU Central Committee. It is as if we are being dictated to from there everyday, as if our arms are being twisted, and as if they do not want to understand us, at all. I have held the position of Central Committee first secretary, for 1 year and have been on the Central Committee for 12 years. I have had considerable experience in relations with the center and am well aware of the previously existing situation. At that time, central control really did exist. Democratic centralism was indeed centralism, but very little democracy could be found.

Currently the situation is already different. A great evolution has taken place during that period. Our relationship with the center is based on tolerance and we only are given recommendations. Joint decisions by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers no longer exist. There are very few party decisions, in general. The order of command previously in existence—do this, don't do that, think this, think something else; no, this is necessary; no, that is—no, this does not exist any longer.

Unfortunately, many individuals are sluggish in their thinking: the CPLi is supposedly oppressed; no one pays any attention to it at the center, and it is only ordered about. Are the people, perhaps, unaware of these things? Examples of this type of rationale also appear in the press. Why could the journalists not consider whether we have exhausted all possibilities currently available to us? Have all of us learned how to work without looking to the top?

A. Brazauskas and J. Paleckis answered TIESA staff's questions.

## Latvian Party Chief Supports Independent Party

*LD0512150289 Moscow TASS in English 1419 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Riga December 5 TASS—By TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina:

An independent Latvian Communist Party will not sever relations with the Soviet Communist Party, but will use its independence to transform its relations with the CPSU, Latvian party chief Jan Vargis said in a newspaper article published today in Riga.

In the run-up to the 25th congress of their party, Latvian Communists are to debate the status of Latvia within the Soviet Union and the status of the Latvian Communist Party within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, he said.

The unjustified juxtaposition of the CPSU with the Latvian Communist Party makes the debate less constructive, he said.

Latvian Communists seek equal cooperation, partnership, mutual respect and solidarity with Soviet Communists and are tired of centralism, administrative control and subordination, Vargis said.

Party reforms are designed to unite and strengthen the Communists, Varis stressed.

"Let us not turn the much-suffered Latvia into an arena of confrontation and conflicts. Let us love and respect this land. Let's think about the people and their fate and not about our posts and ambitions," Vargis said.

## Riga Unofficial Newsvendors' Activities Hit

*PM2911145989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Nov 89 First Edition p 4*

["Rejoinder" by correspondent Major V. Zadubrovskiy from Baltic Military District newspaper ZA RODINU: "Farce"]

[Text] The word in the headline of this article was used in the Middle Ages to describe a kind of West European popular theater and literature of a social comedic and satirical genre. I recalled this during my latest stroll "around the streets of Riga." Here is why I remembered it. Increasingly frequently of late the sidewalks by the Freedom Monument, a place of pilgrimage in Riga, are beginning to resemble the boards of an ancient theater.

So a farce is enacted on a makeshift everyday stage. Its dramatis personae—three young people—set on the benches provided for pedestrians to rest, supposedly deciding to help certain newspaper editorial offices circulate their press publications.

"RUSSKAYA MYSL is published in Paris! Here is the latest edition at R4. Come and get it!" an insistent, dashing voice rings out.

It was impossible not to notice that other publications such as, for instance, the Baltic Military District newspaper ZA RODINU, SOVETSKIY MORYAK, and a number of central publications were also lying in piles. But unlike RUSSKAYA MYSL they were offered free of charge to passersby. Why? I addressed this question to one of the "volunteer" distribution agents, since I myself work on the staff of an editorial office whose output was offered as a free supplement to RUSSKAYA MYSL.

Free because, my interlocutor explained, ZA RODINU and all the central newspapers write in "Soviet language." Allegedly not the same as RUSSKAYA MYSL, SVOBODNOYE SLOVO, and EKSPRESS-KHRONIKA.

I know that some people do not like the viewpoint of our newspaper ZA RODINU. Like a number of other publications which were among the "freebies." But why this cheap spectacle? Everything indicates that it was necessary for just one purpose—to fleece passersby more easily. For the street speculators asked R1.50 for SVOBODNOYE SLOVO, the same for EKSPRESS-KHRONIKA, and R1.20 for GRAZHDANSKOYE DOSTOINSTVO.

I tried to knock down the price for the photocopied pamphlets, reminding him that they sell in Moscow for 50 kopeks. But I was put in my place:

"Your ATMODA is also sold in Moscow at twice the price it is in Latvia."

I said right away that I have no dealings with ATMODA. But who are these distribution agents? They all to a man described themselves as members of the "Democratic Union." A short man with a ginger beard introduced himself as a resident of Tallinn but explained that he had come to Riga from Moscow. Press circulation is his living. "No one takes chances for nothing"! The vendors themselves admit that they get half the proceeds. In response to the question "Do conflicts occur with law-enforcement bodies?" the guy with the beard grinned and said "Well, they do occur..."

These guys—one of them showed me his "Democratic Union" membership card in the name of St. Tomenko—as I saw for myself, have a ready tongue. But they are not, I believe, playing the lead in the farce. There is probably a chief director.

## Latvian Supreme Soviet Debates Unity With USSR

*LD1611113189 Riga in Latvian to Europe 2105 GMT 12 Nov 89*

[Text] The relations of democracy and a unitary great power, the mutual connections of the past and the present day. These themes were heard at the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet session in an assessment by Mavriks Vulfsons. We end our broadcast today with the conclusion of his speech:

[Begin Vulfsons recording] So then, this concerns the legitimization of soviet power. Shall we legitimize it with all those undertakings which followed the entry of a 100,000-man Red Army contingent into Latvia, the Vishinskiy action, all the machinations around the elections, the unconstitutional decision of the unconstitutionally elected Saeima? Or, shall we regard this soviet power a creation of power—violence—by use of that force which we experienced in 1940?

With this I do not want to touch upon the actual present situation; do not misunderstand me. This concerns history. But, to simply tear history away from today and to cut it into ribbons, that we cannot do. We understand that our entire people will understand this not only as a condemnation of history, but will also understand it as a decision to fight against unitarianism.

Because, what are we being told? You were born the same as us. In Russia, soviet power was born with the October Revolution; in Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania the power was born with the revolutions of 1940. We were born differently, and we also want to live differently. In what manner, how far will our roads go together? This is a question that will be decided by the future, and that cannot be decided that simply today. But, we do not want a unitary birth, and we do not want a unitary life according to one and the same pattern.

Therefore, it also appears to me that this morning's proposal, or more correctly, the instruction which has been heard that the constitutions of all republics will again be according to one pattern is unacceptable to us. We find acceptable all that will separate us, in foundations—not in foundations, I said it wrongly—but which will separate us. We need our flag, before which we can gather in the morning when it is raised—every morning above our Council of Ministers. We need our anthem, in order that [words indistinct] when going to bed at night we can listen to it. We need—this is my opinion—our president, who will live in the president's palace.

Probably not today, but 1 month, 2 months, 3 months later we will return to this problem. Who will be able to answer the question for our children today: Which way now, Latvia? [end recording]

## Letter From Latvia's Rubiks Reported

*PM2311144789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Nov 89 Second Edition p 3*

[TASS report under the rubric "Communist's Position": "Own Opinion"]

[Text] Riga—Yesterday the Latvian republican press published a letter by A. Rubiks, member of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, to the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and also a resolution of the republic Communist Party Central Committee Bureau in connection with this letter.

A few words about the letter's author. Alfred Petrovich Rubiks was born in 1935. He spent many years working in All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League and party elected posts, and was minister of the republic's local industry. He became chairman of the Riga city soviet executive committee 5 years ago. In 1985 he was recognized as the most popular person in the republic. He is a USSR people's deputy and member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and of the Development of Management and Self-Management.

This is how the letter begins: "The political situation taking shape in the republic testifies that the Latvian Communist Party and its leading organs are gradually losing their influence among the masses and are having increasingly less control of the progress of many events in the republic." Using examples of the Latvian People's Front activity A. Rubiks analyzes the development of the situation in the republic, noting that "a compromising position is increasingly being demonstrated regarding the Latvian People's Front and its leaders."

People's Deputy and Communist A. Rubiks believes that continued passivity of the Central Committee Bureau and the republic's leaders in this political situation is intolerable and puts forward a number of proposals: to give an immediate principled party assessment of the Latvian People's Front Congress and the documents adopted at it and to determine the extent of responsibility of party members who are not only failing to fulfill the demands of the CPSU Program and Statutes, but are also demagogically, using perestroyka as a cover, in fact conducting subversive activity against Soviet power and the Armed Forces and are contributing to a split in the party and shattering the USSR.

In Rubiks' opinion, "The Bureau and apparatus of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee must not wait for any directions from above, but must most vigorously, using political methods, debunk and show the people the Utopianism and economic and political groundlessness of many claims and plans of the Latvian People's Front, the Movement for Latvia's National Independence, the Latvian Social-Democratic Revolutionary Party, and similar organizations. [quotation marks as published]

Examining the letter from Communist A. Rubiks, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau "largely shares the concern about the political and social tension which has taken shape in the republic, and the state of affairs in the republican party organization." At the same time it "cannot agree with all Comrade A.P. Rubiks' arguments." A number of measures have been outlined in the Central Committee Bureau resolution, which are aimed at democratizing internal party life, rallying the communists and the working people, and creating a stable economic and moral-psychological atmosphere. It has been decided to discuss these questions at the next Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum.

## Latvian Party Responds

*90UN0401A Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 21 Nov 89 p 1*

[Resolution of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau on the letter of Comrade A.P. Rubiks, member of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, to the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and the CPSU Central Committee Politburo]

[Text] 1. The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau shares to a large extent the concern at the political and social tension which has taken shape in the republic and the state of affairs in the republic party organization expressed in the letter.

There are appreciable differences among the communists in the assessment of the program documents and practical activity of the NFL [Latvian People's Front], the Interfront and other social and political formations. The party organizations at times express opposite opinions in respect of the participation of CPSU members in these formations. All this does indeed require thorough analysis and should be the subject of discussion at a Central Committee plenum.

At the same time, however, the Central Committee Bureau cannot agree with all A.P. Rubiks' conclusions and, specifically, with his evaluation of the Latvian Communist Party action program, the edifying tone of the letter and the lack of cogency of some of his assertions.

2. The Central Committee Bureau believes that the main content of the work of members of the Central Committee and party committees and organizations at the current stage should be the implementation of the propositions and guidelines of the Latvian Communist Party action program, which have been verified in the course of extensive discussion. This is an essential prerequisite for the further democratization of intraparty life, the cohesion of the communists and the working people and the creation of a stable economic and moral-psychological environment.

It is essential to concentrate the attention of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat and the departments on the exercise of the proper supervision of practical fulfillment of the Latvian Communist Party action program and an increase in the sense of responsibility of the communist leaders of soviet, state and economic bodies and public organizations. To submit an analysis of the work that has been done on realization of the action program to a Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum.

3. While supporting the utmost expansion of openness and glasnost, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau advocates as clearly as can be the truthful coverage by the media of the phenomena and facts of actual reality and is emphatically opposed to the premeditated disparagement of officials and senior officials and the pinning of every conceivable label on them. The attempts of the authors of certain publications to distort the true role of the Great October Socialist Revolution and call in question the viability of the ideological legacy of V.I. Lenin are groundless and bankrupt.

To instruct Comrades I.Ya. Kezbers and L.L. Bartkevich to have collated and examined within a period of 1 month the proposals of members of the Central Committee, the party committees and the communists aimed at regulating the structure of the media in the republic and increasing the responsibility of publishers and editorial groups for the content and thrust of the published material. To submit the proposals to the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee.

Particularly important at the present time is the direct permanent connection of members of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and the party committees with the workforce and the population. The members of the elective party authorities should participate actively in the solution of questions which arise and the formation of an atmosphere of confidence, efficiency and party comradeship. Less of all kinds of abstract arguments and a little more of the realistic character of practical action.

[Signed] Central Committee Secretary Ya. Vagris.

## New Latvian National Holidays Declared

*90UN0327A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 18 Nov 89 p 2*

[Article by E. Govorushko, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA staff correspondent in Riga: "A New Holiday: Birthday"]

[Text] Tomorrow for the first time in the years of Soviet power in Latvia, inhabitants of Latvia will celebrate a new holiday—Day of Proclamation of the Latvian Republic.

It must be said that the attitude towards this holiday was until recently far from definitive. The fact is that on 18 November 1918, the state independence of Latvia was declared for the first time, marking the beginning of the previous bourgeois state. After joining the USSR, this date was deleted from the history of the Latvian people.

Many Latvian scholars and public figures stress that the republic whose beginnings were declared in 1918 played a significant role in the development of the national self-consciousness and in preserving the nation. After animated debate, a majority of deputies of the LaSSR [Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet also agreed with this, discussing and adopting the new Law on Holidays and Memorial Dates.

In his address before the session, academician Ya. Stradyn, chairman of the commission on drawing up the draft law, stressed that this date should not be contrasted with 7 November, the anniversary of the Great October Revolution. It is thanks to the October Revolution, a pivotal event in the history of many peoples, that Latvia was able to acquire independence at that time to a great degree. Soviet Russia was the first to recognize the Latvian Republic in 1920; only after more than a year went by did the major Western powers do so.

The law establishes two other holidays, St. John's Day and Birthday, which will be observed in accordance with popular tradition on the days of the summer and winter solstices—24 June and 25 December. A new memorial date was also established—Lachplesis Day, already observed 11 November by inhabitants of the republic. This day is connected with the liberation of Riga from the White Guard detachments of the former tsarist officer Bermont. The adventurist was put in charge of this ragtag army by German Army commander Von Der Holtz, who seized Riga in May 1919. Thanks to the selflessness and courage of Latvian Army units relatively low in strength, the capital was liberated after 5 months. This event was subsequently connected with the name of Lachplesis, the legendary epic folk hero.

## Large Crowd in Tartu Protests Military Service

*LD0512220489 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Again we hear from Estonia, from Tartu. Urmas Loit witnessed a rally today. Here is a report on the event for you to listen to.

[Loit] This is Tartu. By 1600 a fairly large crowd of people had gathered at Barclay Square for an antimilitarism and anti-occupation rally. In front of the Barclay de Tolli monument there also stands an improvised rubbish bin where all those who so wish can give up their records of military service, at the initiative of the Geneva 49 movement. Aleksey Lotman, chairman of the military team of the movement is on Estonian radio.

[Begin Lotman recording] Our struggle consists of three aims toward which we advance. These are: peace, freedom, and a clean environment to live in. The demilitarization of Estonia means an end to the occupation of

Estonia, an end to World War II in Estonia and peace and freedom in Estonia. At the same time it also means eliminating the most serious polluter of the Estonian environment.

One must also note that the USSR Army in Estonia not only means alien airplanes overhead but it also means that the Estonian lads have to serve this monster. This is a situation which reminds one of the situation depicted in legends of the Middle Ages where towns had to give up a maiden every year to a dragon. Now Estonian towns have to give up thousands of young men to the dragon. Many of them do not return, many return crippled. Likewise, a young man serving in this army cannot be sure that he will not be forced to take part in a crime.

We have continuously been striving for a gradual solution of the problem. We keep addressing the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet to prevent a flagrant conflict from starting in the way of a sudden campaign. The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet has also reacted in a way but too sluggishly. So at the moment we feel that time is ripe to apply a [word indistinct] fighting method: of not going along with the evil. That means that we simply do not recognize ourselves as being obliged to serve in this army or as being conscripts of this army. We also have a full legal guarantee for this—the 1949 Geneva convention—which stipulates that the occupying state must not mobilize the people of the occupied land into its army. We fight for all this, with all peaceful methods which are morally acceptable. [end recording]

## Estonian Central Committee Discusses Army

*LD0512121589 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 4 Dec 89*

[Excerpt] There was a top-level discussion today in the communist party of Estonia Central Committee. Paevakaja [Program] was represented there by Neeme Brus, a private in the reserve.

[Brus] There was a discussion today in Tallinn, in the building of the party Central Committee, on matters related to Army service. It was convened by the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee, and participating were deputy chairmen of town and rayon executive committees and secretaries of the party rayon committees who deal with matters of conscripting the young into active Army service. Half the auditorium was filled with men in uniform, in quite high ranks: rayon military commissars and representatives of the Baltic Military District. (Hillar Eller), member of the party Central Committee, you are here on behalf of our party leadership, and you were also among the speakers. What was your impression of the reaction of the military? How do they understand our republic's problems, about which so much has already been written and talked about in the press, namely in respect of conscripting the young into the Soviet Army? (?How much are we understood?)

[Eller] Finally, our stances were coming closer, but during the discussion it came to light that there was a claim being made that Army reform and a reorganization of Army service is a matter for the military itself. But we were endeavoring to claim the opposite, that it is a task for all the people, because we claim in the way of slogans that the Army is also a part of our people, and that we must respect the Army. So we must also create conditions so that [words indistinct] and so that we would also have our own, Estonian corps of officers.

In light of this we made suggestions in support of those ideas presented to the party Central Committee by the people, in the way of addresses by the Women's Association and other movements. We have collected all this data and presented our stance, which has also been laid down in our draft party program. [passage omitted]

## Estonia Eyeing Monetary, Banking Reforms

*PM2711160589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 2*

[Own correspondent L. Levitskiy report: "Government Takes Loans"]

[Text] Tallinn—Monday is the day for sittings of the Estonian Council of Ministers Presidium.

Every decision adopted there arouses immediate interest among the population, which often has only rumors rather than authentic information at its disposal. The day now ends with a meeting between ministers and journalists.

The latest briefing was conducted by A. Soydla, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, A. Kiris, minister of justice, and V. Porfiryev, chairman of the Estonian Branch of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity. The topic of the conversation was the drafts of the banking and monetary systems for the republic.

The present organization of banking does not tie in with the "ideology" of Estonian economic independence. Regulation of money supply and credits is rigidly centralized. What is planned to replace this system? A two-tier system of banks: an Estonian Central Bank and commercial banks. Their credits will sustain economic development...

The central bank also has enough work. Its task is to regulate the monetary system, produce money, establish interest rates for credit. It can itself grant credits, including to the republic's government. But by no means indefinite free credits. And only if the supreme legislative organ adopts a decision on this—establishing the size of the loan and the term of repayment.

The report on Estonia's own money was less definite. The government has adopted a decision in principle to transfer to republic currency. Talks on this subject are due to begin soon with the State Bank and the USSR

Ministry of Finance. But one should not hope for a speedy conclusion, journalists were told...

**Estonian People's Front Leader Interviewed**

*PM2711123489 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 16 Nov 89 p 5*

[Report on interview with Estonian People's Front leader Marju Lauristin by Elizabeth Nordgren: "New Winds of Freedom in Estonia"]

[Text] "People in Estonia are very pleased that the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact's secret protocol has been declared invalid," said Marju Lauristin, one of the driving forces within the Estonian People's Front and a deputy to the Supreme Soviet. "There has been no reaction from Moscow, however. In addition only half of the Russian parliamentarians opposed the decision which was reached by the Estonian parliament last Sunday [12 November]. This indicates that only a tiny minority of the Russian-speaking population—Interdvizheniye [Intermovement]—are working against us."

The secret protocol led to Estonia's annexation by Moscow in 1940. According to Lauristin, its being declared invalid is a criticism of the Stalinist system, and by no means a protest directed against the Russian-speaking population in the country. People in Estonia are now expecting that that this will lead to new practical political measures; that is, that the Estonian Supreme Soviet will be given the right to begin negotiations with the Soviet leadership about the country's future.

"The decision does not mean that Estonia will detach itself from the Soviet Union," Lauristin explained. "Our aim is for Estonia's people to have the right to take the initiative for various decisions affecting their future existence economically and politically.

"But here we are dependent on Moscow. We have to get the leadership in Moscow to understand our efforts in the right way.

"There is always the risk that force will be used; that is itself a historical fact," Lauristin said. "But Gorbachev himself is well disposed toward our efforts at reform. He has declared many times that he supports reform in Estonia within certain limits. These limits have been broadened and we hope that they will continue to broaden gradually.

"Prior to the session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet last weekend Gorbachev summoned the country's group of people's deputies to a meeting to discuss the decision on the secret protocol. It then emerged that certain high-ranking Moscow politicians took the view that the aim of the decision was to harm Gorbachev's own policy of perestroyka. We in Estonia want our reform endeavors to proceed at the same pace as Gorbachev's.

"But we still fear counterreactions from Moscow, where the Supreme Soviet is in session at present."

The Supreme Soviet will not deal with Estonia's (and the other Baltic republics') laws on economic independence this year.

The program of economic indepedence which the Estonian Supreme Soviet has approved should be implemented in practice at the end of the year, according to the plans. That is why the situation is now full of conflict, even downright dangerous, Lauristin said.

"The bureaucratic forces in Moscow are opposed to our endeavors and Gorbachev's. We in Estonia, together with other progressive forces," Lauristin said, "want to breach this conservative wall which obstructs all constructive cooperation."

Marju Lauristin has drafted the Popular Front's election program for the Supreme Soviet elections in 1990. The main idea is that every political movement, every political development should be heeded; that is, the People's Front should listen to the people and try to realize their demands. According to Lauristin and the most recent opinion polls, the people want independence.

"The tricky question is how this independence is to be realized," Lauristin said. "There are three different views here. The radical view is based on the idea that the old, legal Estonian republic should again proclaim its existence. Then there is the view that the Soviet Republic of Estonia should continue to develop within the Soviet Union without striving for full independence. The People's Front's policy is to form a new Estonian republic which gradually and legally, always in consultation with Moscow, strives toward political and economic independence, and also gradually toward full independence. All this will happen very slowly; we are counting on 10 years or more," Lauristin said.

Marju Lauristin pointed out that in everything to do with economic, political, and military reforms people in Estonia always pay attention to Moscow, the situation in the whole of the Soviet Union, the situation in Europe, and world political developments as a whole in order to prevent frictions and crises.

"It is important to maintain a stable situation the whole time," Lauristin said.

Marju Lauristin is in the news at present because, together with historian Peeter Vihalemm and researcher Rein Ruutsoo, she has written the recently published book, "Viron Vapauden Tuulet" (Estonia's Winds of Freedom). The book sets out certain guidelines for the Baltic states' future intermediary role between East and West. The book puts forward the concept of "Baltoscandia" with the aim of increased cooperation between the Baltic region and the Nordic area.

The book, which was written exclusively for a Finnish audience, aims to show, among other things, how the small peoples around the Baltic Sea can develop their cooperation and form a unifying link between the major blocs. The book's first section gives a historic overview

of developments in Estonia, while the second section is very up-to-date, and describes the changes of the last 2 years.

"We are very optimistic," Lauristin said. "We believe in the role of the small peoples in the formation of a neutral zone. That is why it is also important for us in Estonia to regain our self-government. The local elections in Estonia in December are important because the people will then have an opportunity to act locally, to elect reliable people and become aware that reforms happen not only in Tallinn, but throughout the country."

## Estonian Greens Take 'Antimilitarist' Stand

*90UN0271B Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian 27 Oct 89 p 4*

[Report on interview with Toomas Frey, chairman of the Estonian Green movement, by Ya. Kappo: "The Estonian 'Green' Movement Remains Unique"; on 21 October in Tartu]

[Text] [Kappo] Last Saturday in the Tartu Scientific Research Institute of Animal Husbandry there was a forum of the Greens of Estonia concerning the forthcoming elections. On the eve of its opening, the newspaper EDAZI published a draft of the political program of the Greens. The movement's election platform was discussed at the forum.

The chairman of the Estonian Green Movement, Toomas Frey, was asked a question about what the movement is devoting special attention to in the election campaign.

[Frey] The election campaign presupposes that we shall take advantage of all of our capabilities and distinguishing characteristics. All the Greens' activity is pervaded by the motif of environmental protection, the need for which everybody understands.

We are alarmed by northeastern Estonia. There are few representatives of the indigenous nation left there. The pollution of northeastern Estonia is placing Finland in danger. In the Baltic republics winds blowing at 5 meters per second for several days in a row are nothing unusual. Even with a superficial glance one can see that in a minute the inoffensive smoke from chimneys spreads over 300 meters, and in an hour—over about 20 kilometers. It is clear that the Baltic republics can do something about the environment only if they cooperate.

The Green movement of Estonia is the 31st full-fledged member of the world organization Friends of the Earth. The struggle for peace, which was very energetic in its day, has died down somewhat. But the antimilitarist movement is gathering force. It is not only nuclear war that threatens mankind with radioactive radiation; the lessons of Chernobyl are in everyone's memory. And, as we know, several dozen military bases are located in Estonia. The army has become an ecological problem, being one of the largest polluters in the Soviet Union. The decades of work for patriotic education has been nullified because of the destruction of immense areas of land through the illegal actions of the army.

The people should be made aware of the sources of a possible ecological catastrophe the surmounting of which will depend on more than just the residents of Estonia. Because of the warming of the climate caused by industrial pollution, the level of the world ocean could rise by 50 meters in a half century. This could cause several small states to disappear from the face of the earth (for example, Holland and Belgium). In Estonia the islands and the regions of Pyarnu and Papla could be flooded... The concentration of acid rain sometimes exceeds that of table vinegar and plants are dying. There are more and more holes in the ozone, which are caused at least to the same degree by the military industry as they are by sets of cooling equipment. And yet the ozone layer is our main protection against all-consuming ultraviolet radiation. The capacity of the atmosphere is so great that if today we could eliminate all factors causing harm to the ozone layer, it would take 15 years before their harmful effects would be halted.

The fight against these threats of a local and global nature contribute to the situation wherein the Green movement is including more and more representatives of all nationalities living in Estonia. Research conducted by Maynor has shown that the movement is very popular among non-Estonian people as well. Thus the Green movement is playing the role of one of the channels for the mutual understanding among peoples.

[Kappo] At the Green congress they probably also discussed possible candidate deputies for the forthcoming elections to the republic Supreme Soviet.

[Frey] Each region worked out its own platform for the forthcoming elections to the local soviets and submitted candidate deputies. The "rules of the game" for elections to the Supreme Soviet have not yet been established and the majority of the movements have not yet come out with platforms and therefore it is difficult to determine the plan of action precisely, although there is very little time left for the election campaign. The candidates must hurry and get used to their new role and therefore at the congress we discussed 36 potential candidate deputies. But not everyone who wishes to can become a candidate deputy and not everyone who can wishes to run. For the Greens are very cautious about politics—many of them find that the compromises to which it is necessary to resort out of political considerations are incompatible with honor.

The question of coalitions will be decided depending on whether or not the members are in favor of a multiparty coalition, taking the pluralism of opinions into account. But one way or another the Greens will still be Greens. We have established good contacts with the People's Front and we feel sympathy for organizations of scholars and women. We also expressed our viewpoint on the

formation of a party of Greens, but we shall join everyone else when we go to these elections.

The congress does not think that the Green movement will try to submit its own candidates for every electoral okrug. We shall nominate people who are capable of making an impression both in the elections and in the supreme soviet.

[Kappo] What is the Greens' attitude toward the so-called alternative elections?

[Frey] We hope that this will not happen, but such a possibility must be seriously taken into account. If people think about what stands behind the alternative power organs and what they entail in domestic policy, these ideas will not find support. I firmly believe in the future and I think we can motivate all residents of Estonia to take a sober look at the current situation.

### Medvedev on Gorbachev's Opponents

*LD0512192389*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1600 GMT on 5 December 1989 broadcasts a 35-minute feature on the Moscow all-union students forum, which opened 15 November.

Following interviews with participants and excerpts from the plenary session proceedings, Yegor Ligachev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, is shown addressing the forum briefly and then being interviewed informally at the discussion center. An unidentified female correspondent asks him his views on students assisting in harvesting work and on the important role of students in Soviet society's renewal. Asked about Soviet students' political role, Ligachev says every stratum in society has such a role and students should be more active. The interview lasts 2 minutes.

During a question and answer session at the Moscow students' forum, Vadim Medvedev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, reads out a question: "Your attitude to the Party Central Committee's rejuvenation. The stenographic account of April 1989 plenum showed that Gorbachev has many opponents. Do you think that the country was on the brink of a coup d'etat?"

Medvedev replies: "I think that the party Central Committee's rejuvenation is a natural process and should be speeded up. As for Gorbachev having many opponents, it is hard for me to say whether there are many or few, but opponents there are indeed, opponents both from the left and the right, and Mikhail Sergeyevich has spoken about this himself, not on a personal level, but on a general, political level. I do not think that the country is on the brink of a coup d'etat; there is no such danger.

"As for a danger arising due to an exacerbation of contradictions and excitement, a danger of a certain disorganization and weakening of discipline, I would say that this is not only a potential danger, but is to a certain degree actual reality. Things must therefore be put in order, a certain calm must be restored, and there must be consolidation of all healthy forces in favor of perestroyka. Herein lies the task of the present day and the main meaning of the problems we are currently working on."

Further excerpts from the proceedings and interviews with other participants on their views of the forum's role follow. Speakers are unidentified, as are Medvedev and Ligachev. Medvedev is shown talking animatedly to students in a foyer. P.D. Sharonov is interviewed briefly before the results of the forum are summed up. The feature ends with a group of students clustering around the microphone saying that the forum gave insufficient opportunity for each to have his say.

### Yeltsin Interviewed on Gorbachev's Future

*AU0512124189 Paris AFP in English 1101 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Geneva, Dec 5 (AFP) Boris Yeltsin, one of the fiercest critics of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, said Tuesday that Mr. Gorbachev's reform policies, known as perestroika, had one more year to succeed or they would be "buried".

In an interview published Tuesday in the GENEVA TRIBUNE, the former Moscow Communist Party chief who is now a deputy in the Supreme Soviet (parliament), said the Soviet Union was seized in a "paroxysm of problems stemming from perestroika."

He said these were likely to continue for another year but after that "there will be a change—either perestroika will have won, or it will be buried."

Asked about the "explosive problem of nationalities," a reference to Soviet republics demanding autonomy, Mr. Yeltsin said an initial solution would be to give maximum autonomy to the republics by modifying laws on land ownership, giving its ownership, including mineral wealth, to the people who live on it, he said.

But he said that "the majority of republics are not ready for this type of independence, apart from the Baltic republics."

He called for a return to the situation of 1922. On December 30 that year the first Soviet congress of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics adopted the Treaty of Union, which annexed republics in the Ukraine, Belorussia and Transcaucasia to the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic.

Referring to his own political standing, the deputy said he had "nothing to fear" from opponents. "That doesn't mean that nothing threatens me, but I believe in certain principles which must guide society."

Mr. Yeltsin said that effective opposition parties within the Soviet political system were not yet reality. "It's something that, for the moment, perestroika cannot presume.

"Let us say that we (the Supreme Soviet) are simply a team of deputies who might one day form the beginnings of an opposition party, when we are braver."

The Soviet deputy judged German reunification to be unrealistic, at least in the near future.

"The two countries perhaps speak the same language," he said, "but their paths have for a long time been different.

"There are many elements that will go against this union. They will disappear by themselves...in the long term, but it is extremely dangerous now to push things too quickly."

## Press Coverage of Yeltsin U.S. Visit Assessed

*PM2111122289 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 46, 12 Nov 89 p 10*

[Unattributed interview with USSR People's Deputy Anatoliy Denisov: "On Yeltsin's Conduct in the U.S."—first two paragraphs are editorial instruction]

[Text] Two and a half hours before the closing of the plenary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet—the last one on the eve of the November holidays—the parliamentary commission on the press coverage of USSR people's deputy Boris Yeltsin's visit to the U.S. distributed its conclusion among the deputies. The conclusion was not discussed by the Supreme Soviet.

We talked to USSR people's deputy Anatoliy Denisov, chairman of the commission.

[Denisov] The commission studied TASS reports for the Soviet mass media and foreign radio and TV coverage of Boris Yeltsin's unofficial visit to the USA. The TASS reports contained both critical and favourable comments in the foreign press. For instance, about Yeltsin buying disposable syringes for children. But the article reprinted in Pravda from the Italian paper La Repubblica looks biased and one-sided. We came to the conclusion that it was an attempt by Pravda to discredit Yeltsin. For this Pravda must take responsibility in keeping with the law. The commission spoke to Viktor Afanasyev, the former editor-in-chief. He assumed full responsibility for the article.

[Question] The commission's conclusion also deals with "some statements by Boris Yeltsin and certain aspects of his behaviour in the USA"...

[Denisov] We also spoke to Yeltsin. We consider that his conduct in the USA gave cause for censure. According to the commission, despite the private nature of the visit, a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium should approach foreign visits with greater responsibility. We don't yet have standards of behaviour for a people's deputy, approved by legislators. Nor do we have a Supreme Soviet committee on a deputy's ethics. Therefore, we could say nothing more.

Now it is up to the electors to decide whether they approve of their deputy's behaviour and draw their own conclusions."

[Question] There have also been doubts expressed about the objectiveness and authenticity of the TV programme in which recordings of Yeltsin's speeches in the USA were used.

[Denisov] This programme was made on the insistence of our commission, and we were firm in our demand that is should contain no comments. As for the technical quality of the 'changeover' from the American TV system, it isn't the best, but there were no forgeries in it.

[Question] It probably cost a lot of money to buy those recordings, didn't it?

[Denisov] As far as I know, everything was done on the basis of exchange with no hard currency involved. We gave the Americans recordings of ours that they were interested in.

[Question] How many letters and telegrams did you receive in connection with the work of the commission? What did they say?

[Denisov] A few hundred were addressed to me personally, as chairman. Before the TV programme, most condemned Pravda. After the programme, there were appraisals of Yeltsin's behaviour. Slightly more than half were critical.

[Question] What was the reaction to the commission's conclusion?

[Denisov] People were dissatisfied. Yeltsin talked to me personally, and I also learned about the reaction at Pravda. Both sides had expected that the criticism would affect only the other.

## Commentator Assesses Present Mood in Society

*PM2111092989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Nov 89 First Edition p 1*

[Article by Viktor Shirokov: "Seven Days. The Future Is Being Decided..."]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The All-Union Scientific and Practical Conference, which assembled the cream of our economic scientists, showed a broad spectrum of opinion and sometimes brought together diametrically opposing viewpoints, but its participants were seeking an answer to the following political question: How are we to escape from the crisis, by what means? Certainly, the conference did not provide "cast-iron" directives; however, it proposed versatile approaches and a range of

ideas which ultimately suggest to politicians and economic managers real possibilities for improving commodity-money relations, shaping a socialist market, strengthening the ruble, reforming pricing, establishing a sound financial and credit system, and so on.

Surely the members of the country's Supreme Soviet were faced with a political problem when they discussed the draft Law on Ownership before submitting it to the verdict of the people? The question of ownership is also ultimately a question of power, a question of the future of the entire USSR. It is no coincidence that the debate on this item on our parliament's agenda was so frenzied and frank. It is worthy of note that people's deputies not only voted in favor of publishing the main draft law but also in favor of making public alternative versions. Well let there be a choice, a choice we simply did not have in previous decades...

The meeting between the country's political leader M.S. Gorbachev and young men and women at the All-Union Students Forum last week can be described as a discussion on an equal footing. Dedicating the country's youth to the party's plans to further develop perestroyka and renew socialism, M.S. Gorbachev addressed our future and those people who must tomorrow carry on the work of the older generations. The forum's results will be discussed for several days in student lecture halls.

The present state of our society may perhaps be designated as somewhere between hope and alarm. The Supreme Soviet is laying the foundations for a new rule-of-law state which must accord with the highest international standards. This inspires the belief that our future will be brighter, richer, and more inspired. But at the same time scorching flashes of impatience break through here and there—let us recall the Vorkuta miners' strike which continued this week. Winter has drawn nigh and one of the life-giving rivers of coal has stopped running. Many metallurgical combines, coking batteries, boilerhouses, and factories found themselves on starvation rations. The strikes have already caused the country tremendous losses, but what lies in store? Cables to the miners from ordinary workers, from all krays and regions beg, demand, and implore miners to resume the extraction and shipment of coal: "Don't let perestroyka freeze over!" It must be hoped that the miners will head the words of their laboring comrades. [passage omitted]

## Solzhenitsyn Representative Interviewed

*90UN0365A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 48, 29 Nov 89 p 5*

[Report on interview with Vadim Borisov, Solzhenitsyn's USSR literary representative, by Alla Latynina, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA columnist: "At Solzhenitsyn's Home in Vermont"]

[Excerpts] **NOVYY MIR is printing** *GULAG Archipelago.* The publication of other Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn works has been announced. We have a natural desire to know how the writer feels about the events taking place in his homeland and what his plans are. But, unfortunately, all attempts to obtain direct answers to these questions are frustrated because of one circumstance: Since 1983 the writer has refused to meet with journalists. Interviews in connection with the publication of translations of *August 1914* are the rarest exceptions.

**When Solzhenitsyn's literary representative in the USSR, Vadim Borisov, was sent by his employer, Novyy Mir, on a business trip to the United States to discuss a number of publishing questions with Solzhenitsyn, several newspapers asked him to persuade the writer to answer a number of questions and break his long silence. Solzhenitsyn was informed of the questions addressed but he did not change his decision.**

**LITERATURNAYA GAZETA observer Alla Latynina discusses with Vadim Borisov his impressions and the results of this trip.**

[Latynina] Vadim Mikhaylovich, did you bring Solzhenitsyn the issue of NOVYY MIR with the chapters from "*Archipelago.*" What did he think of this publication?

[Borisov] He is boundlessly happy that his compatriots will finally be able to read this book. I observed how it was with joy mixed with bitterness over the lost years that Aleksandr Isayevich glanced over the magazine, leafed through the pages, opened it and closed it again, smiled and repeated: "It cannot be..."

[Latynina] Did Solzhenitsyn believe that they would manage to get it published?

[Borisov] He has always believed in the inevitability of the publication of "*Archipelago*" in his homeland. On 18 January 1974 at the very height of the campaign against him Solzhenitsyn wrote: "I am confident that the time will soon come when people will read my book widely and even freely." But I recall that during the past 2 years there has been a persistent struggle to publish Solzhenitsyn and it developed fairly dramatically.

[Latynina] Did NOVYY MIR suggest beginning with *Cancer Ward*?

[Borisov] Quite right. As early as the spring of 1988 Sergey Pavlovich Zalygin wrote Solzhenitsyn a letter requesting permission to publish *Cancer Ward.* Solzhenitsyn answered that his return to the homeland should begin with the publication of "*Archipelago.*"

[Latynina] At that time it seemed to many people that Solzhenitsyn's maximalism could harm the cause, that it would be better not to begin with things that were so politically abrasive—*Cancer Ward, First Circle.*

[Borisov] "*Archipelago*" is the book for which Solzhenitsyn was exiled, deprived of his homeland, and it seems to me that one can understand the feelings of the writer who said that he could not skip over the memory of millions who had died. Both Zalygin and the NOVYY MIR editorial staff understood this when they made the decision to publish "*Archipelago.*"

[Latynina] In January 1989?

[Borisov] Yes, but the publication has been held up and postponed, although its progress was very much encouraged by the attitudes of the public, the evenings spent in December 1988 in connection with Solzhenitsyn's birthday, the appeals of many eminent cultural figures, and the campaign for the return of Solzhenitsyn's USSR citizenship.

[Latynina] Did Solzhenitsyn keep track of how this struggle was progressing?

[Borisov] He was very busy with his literary work but he undoubtedly did. He valued very highly the resolve and firmness of Sergey Pavlovich Zalygin and those who supported him. This is shown by Solzhenitsyn's letter to Zalygin written on 11 August 1989, even before the publication of the August issue with the chapters from "*Archipelago.*"

[Latynina] Can you quote from it?

[Borisov] This would require permission from Sergey Pavlovich. The letter is addressed to him. (Permission was subsequently obtained.)

**"I heartily congratulate you," Solzhenitsyn writes, "for all of your steps, decisions, and firmness. Now we may await the results hopefully. And I have a sense of community with you—in our concern about our literature which has survived for so many years under threatening pressure. And now we are in a period of a sudden change to a scattering of opinions which is painful and threatening in its own way... All this will be a difficult experience for you as well. But the direction of your magazine shows that you have an excellent understanding of this and are patiently working for the next, higher levels. I am glad to return to the present literary current through NOVYY MIR. And I hope to be working with you for a long time...."**

[Latynina] But in spite of the obvious victory Solzhenitsyn is afraid that the publication might be interfered with again, that they might call it off at the last minute.

[Borisov] He did not rule out such a possibility. In this case I was his opponent.

[Latynina] Did you correspond and speak on the telephone?

[Borisov] Both. But generally speaking Solzhenitsyn never used the telephone, considering it his personal enemy. There is no telephone in his office, and even with his sons, when they are away, he prefers to write letters rather than speak on the telephone.

[Latynina] A small digression. I have repeatedly encountered this question: Why was it Vadim Mikhaylovich Borisov whom Solzhenitsyn entrusted to represent his interests in the USSR.

A couple of lines from the biography of the person with whom I am speaking. It was the beginning of the 1970's. Solzhenitsyn was working on the first volume of *The Red Wheel—August 1914*. A graduate student at the Institute of History of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Vadim Borisov was among those who were helping him with this work. The autumn of 1973. Solzhenitsyn and a couple of his associates were preparing the collection *From Under the Rubble* (We have yet to appreciate its significance which, in my opinion, is comparable to that of the famous "*Vekhi*" [Landmarks] ). V. Borisov is one of the authors of this collection. January 1974. There is an anti-Solzhenitsyn campaign caused by the publication abroad of the first volume of "*Archipelago*": "An anti-Soviet concoction," "Poison in the atmosphere of detente," "Slander from the renegade Solzhenitsyn." Perhaps the saddest part of it were the signatures of eminent figures in science and culture who understood the real caliber of Solzhenitsyn's work underneath the indignant letters. Now people vengefully shake the files of old newspapers. But it is much more noble to recall the courageous voices that spoke out in Solzhenitsyn's defense. The voice of Vadim Borisov, reminding the intelligentsia of their responsibility to history and their duty to stand up for the writer was among them.

Vadim Mikhaylovich, you were among the people who were close to Solzhenitsyn. When you were helping Solzhenitsyn's wife, Natalya Dmitriyevna to pack his archives after the writer's exile, when you were saying goodbye to the family at the airport, did you think that a meeting would be possible? What was your experience of it? Has Solzhenitsyn changed?

[Borisov] Of course the meeting, which had seemed unthinkable, was a shock for me as I think it was for them. I had never thought that we would see each other again—in any case, under these circumstances. I did not see any great change in Solzhenitsyn. Of course 15 years are 15 years, and they have not passed unnoticed for any of us. But for his age and his incredible biography Solzhenitsyn looks good. He is cheerful and quick and active. To this day he still has his phenomenal ability to work. [Passage omitted]

[Latynina] Does Solzhenitsyn follow what is happening in his homeland?

[Borisov] Without a doubt.

[Latynina] But why has he not responded to these events in any way? Did you ask him why he does not wish to express his attitude toward what is taking place?

[Borisov] Solzhenitsyn wants to return to his homeland, not as a myth in a newspaper but as himself. He wants to be known mainly as an artist and he thinks that he has expressed himself mainly in prose. And there he has already raised almost all of the questions we are now just beginning to discuss.

[Latynina] This circumstance existed several years ago as well. But that did not keep Solzhenitsyn from becoming involved in journalism, making political assessments, and entering into literary polemics.

Why is it that now, when his words could have a much broader resonance and could mean so much to us, he has fallen silent.

[Borisov] I want to remind you that Solzhenitsyn has a good deal of experience with distorted interpretations of his statements. This concerns not so much our official press as the emigrant and Western press, the distortion of his statements in an environment that calls itself "democratic." For example, he called for rejecting the imperialist policy and granting all people the right to decide their own destinies, and they answered him: Isolationist. He called for complete openness and he called for the authorities to refrain from outdated ideology and to give the people freedom to breath, but he did not close his eyes to the danger of ethnic hatred (which is becoming a reality) and ethnic wars with the sudden introduction of democracy, and they answer him: Authoritarianist, monarchist. He reminded us of moral and spiritual values, of man's responsibility, of the loftiness of his tasks, and they said to him: Theocrat. He called for ethnic repentance, insisting that it was immoral to attempt to create an "image of the enemy" and they answered him: Nationalist, or else anti-Semite.

[Latynina] Do you think that the most successful anti-Solzhenitsyn campaign was conducted not by our official press at the beginning of the seventies, which acted crudely, but the one that some emigre circles managed to conduct and then also the public opinion in the West against the writer, accusing him of authoritarianism, nationalism, antidemocratism, and other nonexistent sins?

[Borisov] Undoubtedly. Although today when the public in the West has begun to recognize more and more clearly the true significance and scope of Solzhenitsyn we sometimes see how people who have tried to discredit the writer are now trying to act as his authorized interpreters. Another of the miracles accompanying Solzhenitsyn.

[Latynina] But this creates even more justification for Solzhenitsyn to explain his position—not for a narrow circle of emigrants, not for the Western reader, but for those millions who are awaiting his books here in the homeland. Moreover, there is a keen ideological struggle going on in the country. Solzhenitsyn's name is being used in it. You yourself recall the people who were ideologically alien to the writer who claim to be his advocates. Solzhenitsyn could at least express his attitude toward these claims and the literary struggle that is going on in the country.

[Borisov] He has expressed it in general terms. I can repeat: He thinks that there are some bad aspects of this struggle, that neither in terms of its level, nor its depth, nor its nature does this struggle correspond to the tasks facing the country, which is in a crisis situation, and that the business of the writer now is to unite all living forces and not engage in petty squabbles.

[Latynina] But it is important to put this into words. Solzhenitsyn's word might exert a sobering influence on the public.

[Borisov] I understand your viewpoint, Alla Nikolayevna. But one can also understand Solzhenitsyn's lack of desire to speak from across the ocean as a perestroyka commentator. Anyway, Solzhenitsyn has been away from the country for 15 years. He feels responsible for his word, and his desire to move the situation in an undesirable direction through an ill-considered word is quite understandable. I think that when he returns his return will be to straightforward assessments.

[Latynina] And will he return?

[Borisov] He will definitely return; there is no question about that. But here everyone forgets that his citizenship has not been returned to him...

[Latynina] I think this problem will quickly be solved in one way or another... Does Solzhenitsyn not intend to come here first and look around and see how many people are now coming back?

[Borisov] I asked him about that. And he answered that he would not go to his homeland as a tourist. It is difficult to say when he will return but it cannot happen before "The Red Wheel" is finished.

[Latynina] And his family? Many of our emigrants cannot return because their children have grown up and become citizens of other countries. Are Solzhenitsyn's sons who grew up in the United States ready for this?

[Borisov] Solzhenitsyn and his wife did everything they could to make sure they remained Russians. Their Russian language is much better and richer than that of many of their contemporaries here. In their intonation you can sometimes hear the influence of another language: They studied in American schools. Of course they have their own interests. The eldest son, Yermolay, is studying problems of the East and Ignat is already a concert pianist who is written about as a musician with great prospects. The third boy, Stepan, is studying at St. Paul's College. But all the boys are Solzhenitsyns to one degree or another, they are proud of the fact that they bear that name, and they understand what their father means to Russian literature. All of them have helped him a great deal, especially in working on his dictionary for expansion of the Russian language vocabulary.

[Latynina] Is this a dictionary compiled by Solzhenitsyn? What is it? Have you seen it?

[Borisov] I have brought his manuscript for publication. Solzhenitsyn thinks that in the 20th century the Russian language has become exceptionally meager and that it is quite wrong of us to neglect its immense lexicon. It is not a dictionary of the entire Russian language but a dictionary only of those words which, in Solzhenitsyn's opinion, have wrongly disappeared from the Russian language and could give it greater flexibility and expressiveness.

[Latynina] Will your employers publish it?

[Borisov] Yes, the magazine RUSSKAYA RECH will begin to print it next year and then it will come out in a separate book. I have already received a number of offers from publishers.

[Latynina] How does Aleksandr Isayevich feel about your publishing plans? How did your joint work go?

[Borisov] Quite successfully. I brought a seven-volume edition fully prepared for publication, which will be published by the publishing center that was just formed under the NOVYY MIR editorial staff on a cooperative basis.

[Latynina] You have already been approved as editor-in-chief of this publishing center. Could you tell us more details about its plans? What will you do in addition to publishing the seven-volume edition of Solzhenitsyn?

[Borisov] Publish the books of NOVYY MIR authors. And in addition to that we shall serve as the coordination center for the publication of Solzhenitsyn. We also hope that after the seven-volume edition is published, which will include the novel *The First Circle,* the novellas *Cancer Ward* and *GULAG Archipelago,* and some stories, we shall begin to publish *"The Red Wheel."* Possibly by that time *"April 1917"* will be completed and the reader will be able to obtain all ten volumes of this immense historical epic. Of course, at first we shall be able to carry out these tasks only in cooperation with other interested publishers.

[Latynina] Will *"The Calf and the Oak"* be published?

[Borisov] Yes, I also brought back the text of that gripping literary autobiography which was recently reworked by the author. The magazine NOVYY MIR intends to print it at the end of 1990 or the beginning of 1991—I cannot say for certain now.

[Latynina] And which of Solzhenitsyn's works will be printed in NOVYY MIR in 1990?

[Borisov] Zalygin also talked about that. But I can repeat: First—*The First Circle,* beginning in the January issue. And then after a small break —*Cancer Ward.*

[Latynina] Where are the honorariums for the Russian edition of *"Archipelago"* going?

[Borisov] The honorariums for all editions of *"Archipelago"* without exception are being turned over by the author for philanthropic purposes.

[Latynina] A number of other magazines have also made commitments to publish Solzhenitsyn. Since NOVYY MIR has all the rights, there arises the question of what you used as a guide in conceding these rights. Did Solzhenitsyn participate in the distribution of the "foci" of *"The Red Wheel"* among the magazines?

[Borisov] We were guided by a very simple consideration: NOVYY MIR is simply not able to publish everything, and we must not postpone Solzhenitsyn's return to the reader. The magazines that were the first to declare their readiness to print individual parts of *"The Red Wheel"* were given that right. Solzhenitsyn will be printed by magazines of various directions and, of course, the very fact of the publication in one magazine or another does not mean that the writer shares the views of this magazine.

[Latynina] Solzhenitsyn asked you to take charge of the process of the publication of his works in the USSR. To what extent are you succeeding in doing this? A number of publications are appearing which violate Solzhenitsyn's author's rights and are clearly unfair to the writer. For example, letters sent to Solzhenitsyn and therefore belonging to him are being published and excerpts are being taken from commentaries and old interviews with Solzhenitsyn . For example, MOSKOVSKIY LITERATOR on 27 October published a fragment from an interview from 1978 which had been printed in VESTNIK RSKhD. The text was not really distorted but it was taken out of context in such a way that in it Solzhenitsyn appears to be some kind of journalist for MOSKOVSKIY LITERATOR. Actually this is false. How does Solzhenitsyn feel about things like this?

[Borisov] Very negative. I did not know about the intentions of MOSKOVSKIY LITERATOR or else I would have tried to stop the publication. Solzhenitsyn insists on his right to present the reader with works that give his statements in their full content, and not journalistic commentary which he refused to let anybody publish, at least for 2 years. People have repeatedly tried to violate this ban and therefore I have had conflicts with various press organs. This is an extremely unpleasant aspect of my work but, unfortunately, it is unavoidable with our literary customs. The readers' authentic interest in Solzhenitsyn should not be confused with sensationalism in relation to his name.

[Latynina] I am afraid that that sensationalism, which is reflected in improper publications, is just as hard to avoid as the stream of hastily written articles and statements. It is difficult to accept the fact that Solzhenitsyn does not fit within the framework of typical ideological interpretations. Hence the multitude of interpretations of Solzhenitsyn, the struggle surrounding him, for him, and against him, and the comical attempts to declare a writer of the caliber of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky to be a proponent of one small group as well as the ridiculous attempts to "dethrone" him. Do you think that it is necessary to counteract this? How?

[Borisov] Mainly by publishing a large number of Solzhenitsyn's texts. I think they will most successfully dispel all the nonsense that has been uttered about Solzhenitsyn over many years.

## Readers Criticize PRAVDA Coverage

*PM0512153989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 89 Second Edition p 6*

[Readers' letters under the rubric "Life As It Is" and the general heading "Unedited Letters"]

[Text] In your address to readers, you said that PRAVDA has lost 3 million subscribers. I sympathize with you, dear comrades, but it certainly comes as no surprise to me. At a time when our society is becoming democratic and glasnost is gathering momentum, PRAVDA has barely restructured its approach at all. The newspaper is mainly written by editorial staff. But where are the people? Where are the authors—engineers, workers? Where are the team leaders, crop growers, and dairymaids?

At the moment, journalists, Central Committee secretaries, oblast party committee secretaries, rayon party committee secretaries, academicians, professors, and celebrated state farm directors and collective farm chairmen appear in every issue. But their opinions do not always coincide with the interests of ordinary working people. It is these ordinary working people who should be allowed onto the pages of PRAVDA. Then there will be a real connection to the people, but at the moment there is no such connection. You must restructure, esteemed members of PRAVDA! Restructure!

For example, we are still only making a lot of noise about introducing economic accountability, but there has never been economic accountability in production or agriculture and there is no economic accountability now. We are inventing various different models of economic accountability and trying to hide behind them, but we will never have real, effective economic accountability until we start to introduce it in the teams and profits reach the pockets of those who produce material goods. We must move away from talk in favor of real action and there should be more material which reflects the interests of the working people. Then your newspaper will come to life and be absorbing reading.
[Signed] N. Kopylov, Moscow.

Your newspaper often strongly criticizes shortcomings in the work of party, soviet, and other bodies and takes a stand against the administrative edict system, bureaucracy, and bad management. That is correct. But the newspaper items are often nothing more than a source of information, albeit critical. It remains unclear as to whether the appropriate measures are being taken or not. Evidently your newspaper does not always see stories that it has begun through to the end, because it fails to inform its readers on the measures taken in response to these critical articles.
[Signed] R. Moiseyev, Komsomolskoye, Chuvash Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

Your collective has few outstanding leading journalists and produces few articles which the reader awaits with impatience.
[Signed] M. Soldatov, Moscow.

As the organ of the CPSU Central Committee, PRAVDA does not give a decisive rebuttal to extremist attacks on the party, Marxism-Leninism, and the achievements of socialism. What is more, under the guise of rectifying mistakes, the newspaper helps to run down the post-October period of our life. All this cannot fail to contribute to the decline of the newspaper's authority.
[Signed] I. Gorbunov, Moscow.

Take a close look and you will see that, since restructuring began, your newspaper has consistently lagged behind both with information and with its analysis of events. This has been particularly apparent in its organization of the struggle against attacks on the party. Look: All informal groups and their leaders are always successful in their criticism of the party, their own press included. But PRAVDA has never rebutted them as it should. Your newspaper is not militant enough.
[Signed] L. Burulev, Omsk.

## Deputy Editor Fired After Paper's Strike

*90US0256B Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 48, 2-8 Dec 89 p 2*

[Article by M. Loginov with a commentary by A. Vorobyev: "Noginsk: The Chronology of a Conflict"]

[Text] On 30 October 1989 a meeting of the labor collective of the editorial office of the newspaper ZNAMYA KOMMUNIZMA (Noginsk, Moscow Oblast) resolved to go on a political strike. Just one demand was made: to reinstate the editor in chief of the newspaper, Vladimir Puchkov, in his position. The journalists elected a strike committee, and on the following day notified their intentions to the Noginsk CPSU City Committee, the executive committee of the city soviet, and the city committee of the trade union of cultural employees....

V. Puchkov was removed from his position on 27 October by Order 183 of the Administration for Publishing, Printing, and the Book Trade of the Moscow Oblast Executive Committee. A written excerpt from a resolution of the bureau of the Noginsk City Committee of the party dated 25 October, 1989 became the basis for the "birth" of the order; the violation of the ban by the CPSU city committee on publishing a speech by People's Deputy Yu. Afanasyev became the pretext.

...On 3 November, the collective of the editorial office of the newspaper ZNAMYA KOMMUNIZMA stopped working. On 10 November, a plenum of the Noginsk CPSU City Committee endorsed the decision of the bureau of the city committee to fire V. Puchkov. Even before that, the Administration for Publishing, Printing, and the Book Trade took the newspaper to court.

On 20 November the Moscow Oblast Court weighed and measured everything and declared the journalists' strike

to be illegal in front of dozens of spectators who came to support the people from Noginsk.
[Signed] M. Loginov

**Lawyer's Commentary**

In the encyclopedia, the term "strike" means "a collective discontinuation of work by workers or clerical personnel who make economic or political demands on the entrepreneurs or the government."

Soviet legislation places this term in the USSR Law on Procedures for Settling Collective Labor Disputes (Conflicts). Therefore, we may only refer to the notion of a labor strike. At present, the term "political strike" is unknown in the legislation of the USSR and union republics.

This is exactly what the court was guided by in considering the civil case. According to the court ruling, the strike was recognized to be invalid because "the strike committee" failed to comply with the procedure for organizing a strike. Proceeding from the USSR Law on Procedures for Settling Collective Labor Disputes (Conflicts), the court ruled correctly. The statement of the defense attorney for the newspaper on the impossibility of considering the case in the court because the strike was of an expressly political nature was not taken into account.

The court could not take into account the political aspects of this case due to the absence of a law on politically motivated strikes. However, not only is the notion "political strike" absent in the law at present, but also an indication of how it is different from a strike as the extreme step in resolving a collective labor dispute.

I believe that in a law-governed state which we are now building there should be room for the institute of a strike as a step in resolving a political conflict as well.
[signed] A. Vorobyev

The following was communicated to us from the editorial office of the newspaper ZNAMYA KOMMUNIZMA. On 27 November, 1989 Deputy Editor in Chief N.P. Bobrova was fired on the order of Acting Editor in Chief V.V. Sukharev. "The prolonged failure to discharge service responsibilities (between 3 and 23 November) and in conjunction with participating in the strike" was the reason.

## Book on Nicholas II Reign Reviewed

*PM0112150789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 3*

[Review by A. Turkov under the rubric "Books: The Week's Novelties"—"Documents Speak"]

[Excerpts] "Legends grew and bore fruit independently of the facts," one writer of memoirs noted, describing the halo around some historical figures. And now, 75 years later, while rightly bringing down from their pedestals completely different but also immoderately praised figures, we sometimes go to the opposite extreme and return to decrepit "legends." For instance, even the highly dramatic finale to the life of the last Russian autocratic ruler nonetheless in no way justifies attempts to replace the crown which the revolution cast from him with the attractive wreath of an innocent martyr or to liken the time of his rule to the most perfect idyll.

The book by the late historian A.Ya. Avrekh, *Tsarism on the Eve of Its Overthrow*["Tsarizm nakanune sverzheniya"] ("Nauka" publishing house), which includes the entire cycle of his works about that period, returns us to the actual facts.

Of course, it is not a case of Nicholas II as a person. There arises before us a picture of a regime which had totally exhausted itself. "Inasmuch as the regime is no longer able or willing to advance, the competence and talent in administration so essential before become not only unnecessary but also contradicted because the function of these qualities is to ensure advance. There thus arises the syndrome of incompetence which increases in size according to the principle of a pond becoming overgrown with duckweed. Every day the overgrown area doubles." [passage omitted]

Even a journalist from the reactionary newspaper NOVOYE VREMYA who until then had zealously served the regime wrote in late 1915: "I do not want to use unpleasant expressions like 'bankruptcy,' 'collapse,' and so forth, but you find it difficult to avoid them." And the tsarina's sister, after vain attempts to make her see a little sense, burst out as she left: "Remember what happened to Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette." But "dark palaces are blind," as Blok had written even earlier.

Yet the revolution, to use the author's expression, was already peeping in through the windows.

Truly, facts are obstinate things.

## KGB Agent Skoblin Rehabilitated

*LD0212125289 Moscow TASS in English 1918 GMT 1 Dec 89*

[Text] Moscow December 1 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Igor Peskov:

The restoration of the good name of a Soviet intelligence agent, former White Guard General Nikolay Skoblin has been made possible by the discovery of documents in the archives of the USSR State Security Committee (KGB).

Skoblin filled a number of leading posts in white emigre organisations while devoting the greater portion of his life to serve Soveit Russia and its people.

In Paris, where Skoblin spent many years, he collected, on instructions from the Soviet intelligence centre, information about the activity of organisations hostile to the Soviet Republic and plotting subversion of the newly formed Soviet Republic.

Skoblin helped disrupt numerous subversive acts and save dozens of people. Thanks to him, people responsible for the death of thousands of Soviet citizens were brought to court.

Skoblin was instrumental in the abduction of Yevgeniy Miller, former general of the Tsarist army and a leader of counterrevolutionary activities in the north of Russian in 1919 and 1920.

At the time Miller headed the Russian military union, the major military emigre organisation. After the event, Skoblin was forced to leave France and moved to Spain where he died in 1938.

A detailed story about the life and activity of Nikolay Skoblin and his allies from among the Russian 'white' emigrants is being published by the NEDELYA weekly. The story disproves allegations by some popular authors, including historian Roy Medvedev and writer Vladimir Karpov that Skoblin was an enemy and agent-provocateur.

The above-mentioned authors alleged that Skoblin informed German intelligence agents of a plot against Stalin hatched by Soviet Army commanders headed by Tukhachevskiy.

This, the authors insist, provided a pretext for the beginning of mass repressions in the Soviet Army.

In the West, Skoblin is charged with collaboration with the Gestapo, the German secret state security police and other misdemeanors.

## KGB Efforts To Fight White Collar Crime

*90UN0403A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 48, 2 Dec 89 p 6*

[From the "Question-Answer" column: "Without Instituting Criminal Proceedings"]

[Text] **Central television recently showed the program "Resonance" in which a top official of the KGB participated. The expression "preventive work," which the organs of state security conduct, was used in response to one of the questions. What kind of work is this and what does it mean? I. Rekotova, Odessa.**

**Lieutenant Colonel V. Mikhaylov, head of one of the subunits of the USSR KGB, responds to the reader's letter.**

The expansion of the Soviet Union's international scientific-technical and trade-economic cooperation with capitalist and developing countries is used by individual citizens for the purpose of personal enrichment. The organization of the Committee for State Security recently uncovered a number of cases where major material damage was done to the economy of the country by individual officials from external economic organizations who were taking bribes from representatives of foreign firms and in this connection fell into a state of dependence. Taking bribes was almost always accompanied by giving foreigners commercial information, secret data on USSR requirements for foreign equipment and technology, and information on state decisions adopted on the allocation of resources for their acquisition. In this connection, various forms of preventive work with those who took the dangerous path became part of the activity of the Committee for State Security.

I will cite an example from the practical work of the KGB directorate in which I work.

Some time ago, it became known to us that A.I. Zvantsev (I am not giving the real name of this person for reasons the readers can themselves understand), an official of one of the associations of the former USSR Gosagroprom [State Agro-industrial Committee] was maintaining unofficial contacts with certain foreign trade firms, and that for a specific "reward" he would assist them in concluding contracts that were favorable to them.

During an assessment of the materials relating to Zvantsev, a careful study was made of all of the facts that pushed him onto the path of profit by using his official position. It became clear that Zvantsev did not divulge information to foreigners that was an official secret, as a result of which it was decided to conduct an explanatory conversation with him. In the process, Zvantsev admitted facts of appropriating material valuables and acquiring certain goods of Western production from foreign firms. Taking into account the fact that he voluntarily turned over the indicated goods and money in the overall sum of R18,000, a humane decision was made to limit Zvantsev's treatment to a preventive discussion.

As a consequence, Zvantsev sent a letter addressed to the USSR KGB which, in particular, said: "I am grateful to the officials of the USSR KGB for their understanding and timely assistance which, in the final analysis, saved me."

The example I have cited is not an isolated one by far in the practical work of organs of state security. And we will do everything possible in the future to fight for each Soviet person.

## MVD Anti-Mafia Efforts Detailed

*90UN0372A Moscow TRUD in Russian 26 Nov 89 p 2*

[V. Belykh report: "Against the Mafia"]

[Text] Some 180 people who are active participants in various kinds of criminal groups have been arrested and unmasked in Moscow city and oblast.

An underground syndicate engaged in forging all kinds of documents has been uncovered. About 40 people have been arrested.

A number of pseudocooperatives set up in order to extort public and state funds have been uncovered. The total amount of harm caused has been found already to reach several million rubles, and this information is being constantly clarified by the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] Main Investigation Administration.

These are just some of the operations conducted by the Administration for the Fight Against Organized Crime recently set up in the USSR MVD. While the argument goes on within the country about whether or not we have a mafia, associates of the administration have already returned more than R400,000 and 2 million certificates to the state. Criminals have been found to be in possession of 500 icons, some of which are worth more than R100,000.

"If I may express it thus," says chief of the administration, the well-known criminologist and scholar A. Gurov, "we have already 'paid for ourselves' several times over. But, of course, our main task is to uncover the channels through which money and valuables 'leak' from the state, and to neutralize the criminals."

"Our work is complex and dangerous and so we select people for it very carefully. As a rule they are associates from the criminal investigation department and the department for combating the embezzlement of socialist property with at least decades of seniority in operational work who have climbed the ladder from simple agents to chiefs of sections, departments and administrations. Devotion to the idea of the fight against organized crime, an understanding of the problems that arise here, and experience of past work are all important."

"Our subdivisions were organized only recently, so they do not have much experience. But we are making a careful study of how they fight the mafia abroad. We do not want to repeat the mistakes made abroad or to waste time and resources on devising methods that are already well known to our colleagues in other countries. Our representatives have already visited the United States. I recently met with Bob Miller, the U.S. assistant attorney general for criminal affairs. We exchanged our ideas on the fight against organized crime and concluded that there is a need for the closest cooperation."

"Links are also being established with some of the socialist countries."

"Today our associates undergo very good special training. Everyone practices karate twice a week. They receive fine weapons and essential equipment. After meeting with our colleagues from the United States we are switching to training on the American model."

"Incidentally, the Americans really like our weapons. One member of the delegation, (Jerry Vanderpool) even suggested that he exchange his Smith and Wesson for my Makarov."

One special feature of our administration is its very close ties with the corresponding KGB subdivisions. Combining Chekist experience with our knowledge of the criminal environment has enabled us to look in a new manner at the ways of fighting the mafia and corruption. I cannot for obvious reasons give all details of this cooperation but it is so close that we engage in joint combat training and are preparing for a joint party meeting."

"Both the criminal investigation department and the department combating the embezzlement of socialist property are helping the administration. When we do not have our own resources those departments give us people and assistance. And we get by without any kind of paperwork or long-term agreements. All that is needed to resolve things is a telephone call. The USSR minister of internal affairs and the procurator general of the Soviet Union have signed a document on strengthening surveillance and cooperation in the fight against organized crime."

"I am often asked whether our associates are threatened. I think that this is too unprofitable and dangerous for criminals. Suffice it to recall the sad experience of their 'colleagues' abroad who tried to scare off the service subdivisions like ours. I am sure it will be the same here. We have many facilities for interdicting any attempts of this kind. It does not happen and there is no need to dramatize the situation."

"It is something else that bothers us, namely, the enormous numbers of complaints and statements that are now being poured down on us. Someone had been put in prison, not being given a garage, there has been a fight, the neighbors make too much noise at night.... And everything is 'the mafia.' Once again I remind you that letters should be sent to the proper quarter rather than forcing us to sort through mountains of mail to find what directly concerns our duties."

"And we do have many cases. They include the unmasking of criminal societies, made up of hundreds of people, that are enmeshing many regions, careful work with persons who have come to our attention, the decoding of criminal communications used by plunderers and the 'traditional' criminals, crimes in the sphere of the cooperative system, and much else. Our work is only just beginning...."

## Crime Rises as Foreign Trade Restrictions Eased

*PM0112105789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Nov 89 First Edition p 4*

[Colonel R. Makushin article under the rubric "After the Briefing": "Imports, Exports, and...Crime"]

[Text] Sometimes one is simply amazed at the spheres of our life which crime has infiltrated and where bad elements are able to steal from the state or individual citizens and organizations. For instance, how can people make a profit in the sphere of foreign economic activity? It seems that they can—and how!

Last year's well-known USSR Council of Ministers resolution entitled all enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations to directly implement import-export ties. This immediately led to a tremendous growth in the number of participants in foreign economic ties, as a result of which in the first 9 months of this year they exported goods and services worth R49.3 billion, and the country's exports increased by 0.5 percent as a whole. But imports amounted to R50.4 billion, which is 5.1 percent more than last year.

This is good, of course, but negative phenomena are increasing alongside positive factors in the sphere of developing foreign economic activity. Since the new procedure for foreign economic ties has not yet become established in a settled system, people immediately emerged who started deliberately betraying state interests to suit their own selfish personal interest.

Here is an example. In 1988 Yefremov, deputy director of the "Prommashimport" All-Union Association Firm, and Kamukhin, a representative of the Ministry of Light Industry, were convicted of accepting bribes to enable the Netherlands firm Stork Brabant to clinch a contract in the teeth of tenders from competing firms that were more advantageous for us. The curtailment of this criminal activity made it possible to prevent the embezzlement of R586,000 in foreign-currency rubles.

There has been rapid growth in the number of joint ventures recently. As of early November 772 of them, with the participation of 53 foreign countries, had been registered. Unfortunately, the expansion of opportunities to develop mutually advantageous cooperation with foreign partners is attracting various speculators and swindlers.

The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] has information that the business reputations of certain foreign partners, including their financial affairs, are dubious.

The Soviet-British "Aspekt" venture, set up to organize citizens' leisure and entertainment using advanced foreign experience, exported aluminum cookware at a price lower than the state price for nonferrous scrap, whose export is banned without a special license. In order to overcome the ban and obtain the certificate they needed, "Aspekt" officials forged a number of documents. By illegally exporting more than 140 tonnes of aluminum, they thereby engaged in actions which qualify as smuggling.

Just what is happening? Why is good business leading to major problems?

The main reason for the crimes in the sphere of foreign economic relations is that the right to trade abroad has been gained by almost all ministries and departments; and controls over such activities have turned out to be poor.

Conducting the struggle against these phenomena, the USSR MVD and its local organs are carrying out specific work to combat lawbreaking in the sphere of foreign economic activity and are collaborating with financial and other monitoring organs.

## Amnesty International Group Planned

*90UN0370A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 25 Nov 89 p 4*

[Article by B. Kagarlitskiy (London-Moscow): "Write Letters to the Police...."]

[Text] Can petitions stop arbitrary rule? The people at Amnesty International think they can.

The receptionist sat and conversed with visitors through a microphone. They were separated by a pane of glass, bulletproof from all appearances. When Tony Clag, coordinator for Amnesty International, came to meet me, he opened the door to his inner office with an electronic card. The first thing I saw was a large poster saying "What To Do If You Receive a Letter Bomb."

"What—have they tried that?"

"Not yet. But we have to be careful."

There are many people all around the world who harbor ill will toward the Amnesty International organization, whose staff headquarters is located on London's Easton Street. About 10 years ago, when I read about this organization for the first time in our press, I found out that Amnesty was "a subversive, anticommunist organization created with the help of the CIA for carrying out ideological sabotage against the world of socialism." At the same time, Brazilian generals publicly declared that they had irrefutable evidence to show that Amnesty was a subversive communist organization, established with the help of the KGB to attempt to destroy the foundations of the "free world."

In actuality, the task of Amnesty consists of striving to attain the release of people persecuted for their political or religious activity. Only people who have not resorted to violence in their activity wind up on their lists as "prisoners of conscience." Amnesty is fundamentally opposed to the death penalty. In addition, the organization engages in research work, studying the situation on human rights in various countries. In their latest annual report, Amnesty categorized the Soviet Union as being among those countries in which the situation has improved appreciably. The Soviet section is covered in just two pages, fewer than comprise the section on Great Britain.

"So—is there less work now on the Soviet Union?"

"Well, it's simply that a different kind of work is beginning now, of a more pleasant variety. We are hoping to establish an Amnesty International group in the USSR."

I admit that I had already heard about people making statements in Moscow in the name of Amnesty, but a new discovery awaited me here.

Clag told me that members of Amnesty have no right to get involved—in the organization's name, in any case—with political prisoners in their own country. People and groups issuing statements in the USSR in the name of Amnesty International are not recognized by the international secretariat as members of the organization. Perhaps they are doing something beneficial, but it has nothing in common with our charter and our tasks.

Amnesty members must get involved with political prisoners in other countries. They should not have preferences or identify "good" and "bad." It is easier to observe this kind of principled neutrality when one is working in a foreign country. But not everything is simple here either.

A sectarian approach is incompatible with the consistent protection of human rights. Intolerance, the hatred of others' views, and the desire to depict a stream of political thought you do not like as being almost criminal—where has this gotten us? Today, even among those who call themselves liberals and democrats, now and again you will find open intolerance of people with differing views. Only the object of the hatred has changed—now we are hearing not about "counterrevolutionary villains" but about "bolshevik" ones. History is reduced to a record of crimes, but it is from precisely such political thinking that theories are born which justify repression.

I must admit that the question of the effectiveness of Amnesty's activities interested me to the greatest extent. Is it possible to stop repressions by writing letters, conducting demonstrations, and submitting petitions? It turns out it is possible.

Political punishment is meted out in secret. If letters appear and demonstrations take place—the secret is out. Frequently when they find out that someone is in immediate danger, Amnesty members from all over the world begin sending letters to the country in which the arrest or abduction has occurred. Let us suppose that letters and telegrams from all corners of the earth suddenly start coming into the police precinct of a small town. What a sobering effect!

We are striving to look at the world without prejudice—law enforcement organizations which operate on principles of universal human values require just such an unprejudiced view.

## History of Soviet Paternalism Viewed

*PM0512120189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 5*

[Article by Doctors of Historical Sciences L. Ponomarev and V. Shinkarenko: "'Fathers' and 'Children;' Paternalism: Features of a Phenomenon"]

[Text]

**Can they see everything from above?**

The yearning for guiding tutelage... Sometimes it seems we were born with it. Apathetic expectation of boons "from above" has become a feature of our public psychology. With the present shortage of everything the shortage of independence and personal initiative is making itself felt no less keenly. A recent meeting in Leningrad demonstrated this yet again with graphic obviousness.

Actually, sacred belief in a guiding wisdom and omnipotence is characteristic not only of Leningraders.

After a visit by a high-ranking official to the Lianozovo dairy combine in Moscow, TASS reported that the enterprise was "rapidly" being reinforced with highly skilled specialists. How did this "emergency" arise at the combine, whose commissioning was included in the state returns as of 1988? Citing the high-ranking official, TASS explains the situation as follows: It was no longer possible to tolerate the lag into which the enterprise had been driven by sluggishness, uncompleted work, and irresponsibility. Then it was noted that the date for the visit had not been chosen at random. It was stressed that by that time (1 November this year) it had become clear that the promises of the combine's leaders had remained on paper, that the fulfillment of the production program not only for this year but also for next was threatened with disruption.

The main problem was the cadres one but it was precisely this problem that the combine leadership had been unable to resolve for a number of years. But what about the conference? The TASS report attests that it coped with this problem in two ticks. Or 2 weeks to be more precise: "If the combine had been put into operation at full capacity it would have no equal in the world today. And when that happens a city of many millions will be supplied almost in full with dairy products. That is why, in discussing ways out of the situation which had taken shape, the question was put in a tough way: reinforcing the enterprises with cadres of the specialities in shortest supply as early as 15 November. The Soviet and the Swedish sides both stressed that no automated equipment would work effectively and without interruptions unless reliable, competent human hands are nearby."

But is it possible to do in 15 days what you have not managed to do in years? It turns out it is possible. You only have to want it very much. You have to display efficiency and responsibility—and then everything will be in order. Seeing as how, as TASS reports, the Moscow

City Soviet is also going halfway to meet the collective. Or to be more precise halfway to meet its new workers with "the specialities in shortest supply." The Moscow City Soviet is allocating 15 well appointed apartments to the 15 engineers whom the combine has been inviting during these 15 days to work in Moscow.

How simple it all is, isn't it?

**Waiting for a Miracle**

A recent CPSU Central Committee discussion on problems of economic development also stated that the local authorities are often simply unable to satisfy the working people's urgent needs. It was noted that the ministries have also avoided active deeds. Who can people really count on under these conditions?

It turns out that they can only count on the top people in the state. Or at least on the Supreme Soviet. Distribution relations in our country are now such that you get the impression that it is at the very apex of the state pyramid that the largest stock not only of carrots and sticks but also of soap, sugar, and matches is concentrated... People's Deputy G. Popov, touching at the CPSU Central Committee conference on how the USSR Supreme Soviet discussed the state budget for next year, said frankly: "During the discussion of the budget there were endless requests to the center—give us money for children, give us money for the countryside, give us money for health care. When you take a look, money really is needed for the countryside, for children, for invalids, and so forth. We must think about how far the method whereby the state becomes the distributor is sensible at all. Previously people used to stand in line to ask. Now they no longer ask but demand, threaten, blackmail, and storm. Social justice obviously consists not in the state allocating something but in giving the maximum possible share to workers, the plant, the countryside, the city, and the republics from the outset. And they can then decide what to do."

It is hard to say how it will actually be. Perhaps as the eminent economist believes, perhaps otherwise. In any case history attests that not a single state has yet succeeded in conducting its business in such a way that citizens have complained about their low standard of living only to themselves and not to the state. Strangely, for some reason they always appeal to those higher up. It was this—appealing to the state—which the candidate people's deputies only recently invited their voters to do. During the election campaign some candidates promised people mountains of gold. But the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies already showed how great is the distance from these mountains to the present day.

This is already a reality—a certain disillusion on the part of voters who used to believe in the proximity of resolute and, most importantly, rapid changes for the better. Perhaps these sentiments were expressed particularly graphically by Hero of Socialist Labor S. Geychenko, our country's oldest museum curator and a Pushkin expert. His appeal to the people's elected representatives in PRAVDA 6 November could probably collect millions of signatures: "How do you propose to feed the people and keep them warm, how do you propose to fill their souls, if you yourself are spiritually poor and barefoot?"

And so the writer calls on the deputy to feed the people who have elected him. As though our people (or any other) were unable to feed themselves (on condition, of course, that they are not prevented from doing so). He urges the people to be kept warm (?!). Finally, he calls on the people's elected representatives to perform deeds which, as is well known, are beyond the strength of God himself: How do you propose to fill the people's souls?!

You note that it is not a case of a particular individual soul, that of Adam or Eve for instance who, if you are to believe the holy scriptures, also had difficulties filling their souls. It is a case of nothing more nor less than the soul of an entire people!

So perhaps we are right to pray? Our Father deputy, remind us what Your name is and we will praise You to the skies. Tell us what to do and we will say that we will do as You teach us... And You in Your turn will give us our daily bread (and somehow all the rest as well as bread: butter, sausage, an apartment, a television set, an automobile, a dacha, and so forth—a full list of our needs with numbered pages, bound, and fastened with a big wax seal is attached to our prayer in two copies)! Amen.

But woe betide the deputy who has failed to justify our bright hopes. We shall recall him from Olympus to the sinful earth and deal with him as our ancestors used to deal with princes, idols, gods, and other great benefactors when the latter deviated from the jointly outlined general line and neglected their duties, declining to perform their promised good deeds.

Of course, we shall not start burning and drowning them, sprinkling them with holy water and exorcizing them, as used to be done in former times. We shall simply deprive them of our trust—and let them live as they want. We shall see what happens to them!

That is the other side of the medal called paternalism. When the fathers and benefactors prove unsound, the children who counted on their acts of benevolence overthrow some fathers from the pedestal and place others on the vacated space.

Born during the decline of the primeval community system, paternalism has survived all socioeconomic formations and, as our reality shows, has no intention of taking a rest yet. Moreover, under the conditions of perestroyka it feels just as confident as it felt during the years of stagnation or in the period connected with the Stalin personality cult. Let us recall history to those who disagree with that.

**Good Deeds Assigned According to Schedule**

How do scientists usually interpret paternalism? They interpret it as follows:

"1) The bourgeois ideological doctrine about the existence of entrepreneurs' allegedly 'paternal' attitude toward the workers in their employ and the policy, which accords with this doctrine, of carrying out individual philanthropic measures designed to conceal the exploitative nature of relations between labor and capital and to divert workers from participation in the class and revolutionary struggle;

"2) The imperialist powers' policy with regard to the developing countries, which consists in rendering them aid under the guise of 'paternal' concern but which in fact leads to those countries' economic and political enslavement."

And that is the 15th, amended edition. How much we still have to amend! Both in the dictionaries and in life itself....

Perestroyka is a revolution in social relations, its entire content is deployed in the direction of the masses. It is implemented by the masses and in the interests of the masses. The thrust of paternalism, however, consists in the simulation of real social relations, in their distortion, making it possible to mislead the masses. Matters are depicted as though the masses are becoming the subject of paternal love and concern on the part of the powers that be. Naturally, this pretense is not carried out for amusement's sake. A powerful interest—profit—operates here.

A paternal attitude toward the working people is proclaimed verbally, but in fact... In fact the broad masses of credulous 'children' allow themselves to be turned into simple production tools, into the appendages of machines and plantations.

It is true that they do not embark on this for nothing—they hope for a better future. But that is precisely what lets them down. In giving all their efforts to the "common" weal in production, they can wait for the triumph of justice until the end of time.

A simple strategy. But its strength is that it plays on the most sacred strings of man's soul. It plays on man's nature, on his natural instincts and motives, his best feelings.

Paternalism is indebted to the family for its inception. Or to be more precise to the family ties which took shape in the patriarchal era. Having once played a progressive role in people's development, these ties subsequently started, under the influence of religious, class, state, and other relations, to undergo substantial changes. The family was constantly adapting to new social demands, but society also sought to strengthen its influence on the family. And if old family ties failed to give way to new ones more in accordance with the spirit of the times, they found themselves in dynasties and clans and turned into a mass relapse into patriarchal attitudes. In turn the social orientation toward the patriarchal family, expressed in the desire to ascribe a paternal function to an idol, god, tsar, prince, boyar, and so forth down to the last clerk in the land office, generated paternalism.

History knows paternalism of the most different kinds. Many of its forms, including the most ancient, have been preserved in our country to this day. It is a case not only of the relations existing between relatives or representatives of a particular family, tribe, or clan. In our country, for instance, religious paternalism is widespread even today. Who does not know of the father-saviors who promise a life of paradise in the sky in exchange for filial obedience on earth? They rule in the church and cathedral, synagogue and pagoda, prayer house and mosque.

And state paternalism? In Russia as, indeed, elsewhere, it has been asserted since time immemorial. Probably long before the Novgorod delegation which came to the Varangians asking: "Come and be our princes and rule us."

Classes, nations, states, and even entire continents fall under the influence of paternalism. It was Christian paternalism which one paved the why for the white conquerors in Asia, America, and Africa.

Paternalism is constantly reproduced in social relations only because there are always people who accept the pseudopaternal concern imposed on them from above. That is, the great masses of "children" are always under the hand of the self-appointed fathers. Whether the "children" are voluntary or coerced makes no difference. The main thing is that they allow themselves to be bought, trading off their freedom for future "paternal" acts of philanthropy. In turn the "father-benefactors" sell themselves to the "children." It is true that they do this only in the field of phraseology, shaping appropriate ideological stereotypes designed to mislead society. But it remains a fact that essential the phony fathers and phony children sell themselves to each other.

Paternalism is dangerous in that it generates hopes that cannot be fulfilled. It forms deceptive illusions which serve as the nutrient in the present. Mythmaking, impractical schemes, demagoguery—those are the main instruments through which paternalism distorts public awareness, seeking spiritual dominion essential to it in order to ensure itself a trouble-free material existence.

Under the conditions of the administrative-edict system state paternalism constantly sowed great hopes around itself. Promising happiness in the near future, it thus took trust on credit from the masses and when the time came to pay it turned out it had nothing with which to pay.

That is the unseemly social practice of paternalism, if you present it without any embellishments, free of incidental detail. Nor can we fail to consider that it will be hard to overcome this age-old practice in our country. And not only because so far this practice has still not

been successfully overcome in a single state past or present. It will be even more difficult for us because we have a grave social legacy. This is explained primarily by the features of our social development and the specific historical conditions in which the Soviet state arose and is developing. The point is that the masses' paternalist awareness in our country was for a long time stronger than anywhere and was nurtured by the cult of the "father of all the peoples."

**Toward New Thinking!**

Should we be surprised that half the country sobbed when the Great Leader and Teacher died? People did indeed feel a most tremendous upheaval. They had been orphaned—they did not know how to go on living.

The consequences of Stalin's paternalism are making themselves felt to this day. Look at how the greater part of the apparatus even now is reluctant to think for itself. It often behaves like a small child who will not take a step without its parents. It is obvious that it was not for nothing that unthinking obedience was cultivated for decades. You remember the poet's satirical lines: "We, comrades, have no need to think if the leaders are thinking!"

The apparatus' work in the years of stagnation increasingly came down to compiling and reading papers at sessions, meetings, and other events.

Of course, mental stagnation is a direct result of stagnation in practical activity. But at the same time it also to a certain extent predetermines the intensification of stagnation trends in real life. Lazy thinking is almost always inevitably followed by lazy talk and its divorce from any kind of practice. This phenomenon is constantly noted by a substantial proportion of workers and collective farm members polled by sociologists from the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences. According to these assessments, the discrepancy between word and deed in party work is not only not being reduced but on the contrary is increasing. In 1986 some 34 percent pointed to this, in 1988 the figure was 39 percent and in 1989 it was 46 percent, or nearly half of those polled.

The new thinking opens up a way out of the situation. It will not accept paternalism and openly opposes it. It is the new thinking which can open the doors for us to a world of new social relations free of the phony paternal logic of paternalism.

But the new thinking is only taking its first steps. It has not yet taken hold of the consciousness of the masses or the consciousness of the apparatus. Paternalism is not a system of relations which easily surrenders its power over people's minds. The new thinking will have to overcome many obstacles before it prevails over paternalism. And the facts of life attest that there are plenty of obstacles. An obstacle like the distribution of apartments "according to emergency procedure," for instance, in which it was decided to engage immediately at the Lianozovo conference mentioned at the start of the article. Is it not clear that the combine should have done this 2-3 years ago in a calm working atmosphere? In conjunction, naturally, with the Moscow City Soviet. And, of course, in resolving this question it was entirely possible to do without party intervention from above. Particularly under conditions when a course has been steered toward the delimitation of the functions of party and state.

Why then does our press, in transports of delight, rush to persuade us that party and state organs must continue to act in the future just as they did in resolving this question at the Lianozovo conference in order to "justify people's expectations?"

No, we must not act like this either now or in the future. We must think independently. And then act independently. And bear full responsibility for our decisions and our deeds without shifting this burden onto the might shoulders of higher ranking "fathers."

## Economic

### Abalkin: Government Should Resign if Economy Fails

*AU0612093689*

[Editorial Report] Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME and NARODNA MLADEZH on 29 November carry two separate interviews with Academician Leonid Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, both dealing with Soviet economic reforms and requirement to improve Soviet market supplies.

ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME carries on pages 1 and 3, a 1,400-word interview with Leonid Abalkin by NOVOSTI representative Andrey Nikolayev, "specially dispatched for ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME," entitled: "Privileges for the Market,"—date and place not given.

The interview deals with the Soviet Government's new taxation policy, based on progressive income taxes, and Abalkin explains the essence of this new policy. He also dwells on the "negative trends" of increasing deficits, and on market "stabilization" problems.

Abalkin states as follows in closing the interview:

"The increase of incomes not covered by the supply of goods and services is not as inoffensive as it appears at first glance. This growth is the reason for inflation, and the cause of empty shelves in our stores. The level of prices in this case is a derived value and reflects the imbalance of the market, whose prices will increase either openly, or in a concealed form. This happens all over the world. The more money is in circulation, the higher the prices, and vice versa. For this reason we are trying to influence the causes, and not the results."

NARODNA MLADEZH on page 13 carries a 1,000-word interview with Abalkin by NARODNA MLADEZH Press Bureau, under the headline: "Effective

Economy, a Well Supplied Market." The introductory passage mentions Abalkin's "recent interview with the Central Soviet Television," in which he appealed to the Soviet public to support the economic reforms, and further explains that the following questions and answers "contain some of the most interesting answers given by Academician Abalkin in his latest interviews on vitally important issues of restructuring."

Abalkin is cited as stating that "if we do not succeed in improving the economic situation within the next 2 years, the government should resign." He further clarifies the government proposals on economic reforms at various stages related to the taxation system, the self-management and self-financing of the union republics, and the new 5-year plan. Abalkin is also cited praising recent discussions of economic experts and managers on the crucial issues of state-owned and private economy. He further dwells on the convertible Soviet currency, and other topical economic questions, such as the improvement of domestic market supplies, expected for the early 90's, which "according to Academician Abalkin, many people will feel at an even earlier stage along with the improvement of their own material situation." Abalkin is cited as follows on this subject:

"A higher living standard, as a whole, can be achieved only by improving economic effectiveness. The opportunities for a redistribution are already exhausted. It would be a crime to have recourse to an increased budget deficit. It is inadmissible to further reduce the investments for the expansion and modernization of production—as it is envisaged in the plan for next year. For this reason only, one method is possible—namely to increase economic effectiveness and to work more efficiently. The scales and terms for the implementation of social programs should be directly linked to the increase of effectiveness. The implementation of these programs will increasingly depend on the republican and local organs. They have been granted extensive rights and resources, but also bear greater responsibilities. Local organs should be more exacting toward their own achievements and fully use their resources for improving quality, instead of addressing 'petitions' to Moscow."

## High Levies on Cooperative Imports Questioned

*PM2911151789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 89 Morning Edition p4*

[Report by S. Dvigantsev, F. Ivanov under the rubric "Fact and Commentary": "Payments on the Highroad"]

[Text] Recent instructions issued through the USSR Council of Ministers State Customs Control Main Administration "On the Procedure for Calculating the Budgetary Contributions of Cooperatives Importing Goods and Materials" are a noteworthy example of resolving the problem of social justice.

Let us remind you that, since 1 April this year, all state and cooperative enterprises and organizations taking part in foreign economic relations have had the right to spend as much as 30 percent of the hard currency they earn on acquiring goods for their workforce. Given the hunger for goods in our country, this decision has been taken advantage of by many exporters. By giving their associates this kind of incentive, they have stimulated good-quality work.

Naturally, they have been able to obtain these goods abroad simply by paying customs duty—not at a very high rate, incidentally. But now, these new instructions issued through the State Customs Control Main Administration have placed cooperatives in totally unequal conditions compared to other exporters. Henceforth, production cooperatives importing goods will not pay customs duty. They will settle accounts with the state in a different way: They will be liable to pay the cost of the purchase multiplied by an appropriate rate fixed for all groups of goods.

We will give you an example of how this looks in practice. Let us suppose that a cooperative has bought video recorders at $300 each, which, at the official USSR State Bank exchange rate, is equivalent to approximately R200. Multiplying this price by the rate fixed for imported videos—which equals 7—we end up with a figure of R1,400. This is the amount that the cooperative must pay into the budget for each piece of imported equipment. The rates vary, depending on the country in which the commodity is bought, and sometimes reach astronomical proportions. For example, the rate for instant coffee is 21. This means that a cooperative has to pay the state R63 for a $5 jar!

So why are these kinds of sums being levied, and why does this procedure apply only to cooperatives? We asked V. Boyarov, chief of the State Customs Control Main Administration, this question. But it became clear that we had turned to the wrong person.

"Our instructions," Vitaliy Konstantinovich said, "were drawn up in line with the decisions of the State Foreign Economic Commission, and in fact the authors of these instructions are the USSR State Committee on Prices, the USSR Ministry of Finance, and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations."

So we had to readdress our question to A. Komin, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee on Prices.

"I see nothing strange in this decision," Anatoliy Nikolayevich said. "The current customs duties are ineffectual and, while new ones are being worked out, this procedure for calculating cooperatives' dues to the state is socially just, as far as I am concerned. Surely you do not want cooperatives to be able to get hold of goods in such short supply dirt-cheap, unlike the rest of the country's citizens?"

A. Komin's response is dubious, to say the least. First of all, goods are not being acquired on the foreign market dirt-cheap but at current world prices. It is not the fault,

but the merit of cooperatives that they have hard currency at their disposal: It means that they have been able to supply this market with competitive goods.

There is no doubt that at present our country's customs duties are far from perfect. But if we want to bring them into line (which has been mentioned several times) with those existing throughout the civilized world, it would not go amiss to bear in mind the kind of role they play in those countries, as one of the main instruments for regulating the market, stimulating the import of necessary goods, preventing gluts in the market, and stopping shoddy goods from entering the country.

Unfortunately, there is no threat of any glut in our market in the near future. So what is the point of introducing a new payments procedure which puts a spoke in the wheels of those who are using their own resources to help to fill the market with precisely those goods which are so lacking?

The real intention shows through this new decision by powerful departments: To get in the way of those who are forging a new path into the foreign market and, using their monopoly position, to exact tribute from them. It is easier, of course, to fleece the weak and defenseless. It is no accident that the cooperatives are the first to fall victim. We should remind you, incidentally, that these are the same departments which sanctioned the mindless customs duty of R5,000 on personal computers imported into the country by private individuals—as if we had a surplus of these items here.

We cannot rule out the possibility that the new payments procedure will soon also be extended to joint enterprises and state factories and plants which, having broken out of the "middle" range, have earned hard currency by exporting their products. But will we secure extra hard currency for the treasury by robbing enterprising ventures of their rubles? Will we bring more goods to the shelves of our stores...?

## Foreign Trade Efficiency Questioned

*90UI0142A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*22 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5*

[Nataliya Larionova viewpoint: "Is Foreign Trade Efficient?"]

[Text] Many debates on economic topics begin with this question today. An opinion concerning the low efficiency of foreign economic relations was expressed also during the work of the Congress of People's Deputies and the sessions of the Supreme Soviet. But there is the opposite opinion also. According to figures of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, the efficiency of trade in 1988 constituted 215 percent. In other words, for each ruble invested in foreign economic relations, R2.15 were returned to the USSR national economy. This indicator is quite high, although less than in the more "propitious" year of 1985.

What is the reason for this? Unfortunately, the situation on the world market has recently been changing in a direction which is disadvantageous for us. Thus in the last 4 years the amount of our annual exports has declined by 7 billion foreign currency rubles on account of unfavorable conditions on the world fuel and raw material commodity market. To judge by forecasts, demand for fuel worldwide will continue to decline in the next few years on account of the more economical use of energy (in the West, alas, but not with us—N.L.). Under the conditions of the practically unlimited need for imports the efficiency of foreign trade depends wholly on exports. But it is these which suffer from manifest imperfection.

Naturally, recent changes on the world market and the defects in the structure of our exports and imports have left the Soviet balance of trade with a "minus" reading. Whereas previously these figures were kept under "seven seals," it is now said from on high that the USSR has a foreign trade deficit of the order of R34 billion. And not simply said, everyone is discussing openly how we might rid ourselves of this burden.

R34 billion—is this a lot or a little? In absolute figures this is a considerable sum, but not that great relatively. I would recall that the U.S. foreign trade deficit annually approaches $150 billion. So we are not top of the list as yet. However, lest the situation change for the worse, particular caution is necessary in dealings with the world market. It is necessary to analyze most thoroughly all the "pros" and "cons" of the calls for use to be made of large new credit or for money to be obtained with gold reserves as surety. We should ponder well whether to embark upon sureties or new credit merely to saturate the home market with consumer goods. A temporary measure to satisfy consumer demands of the moment creates a permanent debt burden. It would be better, perhaps, to attempt to adjust our own production or cease exporting cheap raw material and energy, having put the emphasis on exports of finished products.

A USSR Council of Ministers decree on stimulation of the sale to the state of high-quality wheat grain, beans and oil-bearing crop seeds by way of payment for them in foreign currency was promulgated recently. But is this the sole way of interesting producers, and what shall we do about the scarcity of other commodities and food? This measure will hardly enhance the prestige of the ruble in the eyes of domestic producers or bring it closer to convertibility. On the contrary, in order to approach ruble convertibility we need to strive for confidence therein abroad, which may be secured primarily by the quality of the goods manufactured in the country and their selection. There are such precedents. After all, only the dollar, the Swiss franc and the Swedish krona were convertible after the war. The Bretton Woods Agreement signed in 1944 obliged the European states to introduce the convertibility of their currencies. It took 14 years for these countries to restore their economy and emerge on the world market with a lengthy list of high-quality commodities, which made their currencies convertible.

Thus the way toward efficient foreign trade lies via the solution of domestic economic problems. Providing the public with consumer goods is the job primarily of domestic industry. Foreign trade can and should help our industry reach the modern level, and the whole country, participate more fully in the international division of labor.

## French Economist Discusses Socialist Reforms

*90UI0177A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 48, 2-8 Dec 89 p 5*

[Interview with Katrin Kamari conducted by G. Valyuzhenich: "Lesson To Profit By?"]

[Text] Many socialist countries are now switching to market relationships. Does the market provide the key to the solution of the problems which have arisen as the result of the overcentralization of bureaucratic planning? This was the subject of the interview conducted by our correspondent G. Valyuzhenich with Katrin Kamari [name as published], a Sovietologist, lecturer at Paris University and staffer at the Institute of the USSR and East Europe in Paris. Her doctoral thesis was devoted to a study of the "Yugoslav experiment." She is now engaged in research into the reforms taking place in our country.

[Valyuzhenich] Katrin, "market socialism," that in which many people in our country are putting their hopes currently, was introduced in Yugoslavia in the 1960's. But at the same time the country is now in a state of crisis. What is the reason for it, in your opinion?

[Kamari] The majority of specialists believes that the reason is the insufficient development of the market. I, however, believe that it is the insufficient level of economic and political democracy in Yugoslavia.

There existed from the start of the 1950's through 1964 a system whereby the majority of decisions was adopted, as previously, in centralized manner, "at the top," although the enterprises were on "financial autonomy." Self-management was strictly regulated by price and credit systems determined by the central planning authorities and directive decrees.

In this period, despite the rapid growth of economic indicators (an annual growth rate of over 10 percent, sharp upturn in the production of consumer goods), particular sources of tension emerged (miners' discontent with the low price for coal leading to a reduction in their income; the well-to-do republics' resistance to a redistribution of resources among the republics). An attempt was made in this connection to weaken the role of the state in favor of the market.

Incidentally, it seems to me, the following cliche has become firmly established in your country: Whoever is opposed to the market is for dictatorship. This is by no means the case. Another version is possible, after all.

Only major strategic issues may be planned and the priority directions determined in centralized manner. The majority of decisions, however, should be adopted at regional, locality and individual enterprise level.

We need to regulate the economy, but not "watch over" each enterprise.

However, this version of the solution of problems requires a fundamental democratization of political life. This did not occur in Yugoslavia.

The centralized capital investment funds and other former instruments of planning were liquidated in 1965.

The labor outfits came to freely dispose of various production capital surpluses left following the payment of taxes. This was a positive feature, of course. But at the same time, however, the decentralization of decisions concerning capital investments and distribution criteria soon led to the emergence of serious disruptions in the balance between sectors. Dependence on imports increased. Insufficient use was made of national resources, which created the prerequisites for a subsequent growth in foreign debt. Strikes by workers demanding pay rises resumed as of 1968. Inflation exceeded the contemplated price rise indicators. Unemployment increased.

Subsequently the Yugoslav system proved to be extremely fragmented and divided into feudal principalities, as it were—and burdened, what is more, by a foreign debt of the order of $20 billion. Under pressure from the IMF the predominant orientation as of the start of the 1980's has been a resumption of the policy of market reforms in order to thereby attempt to unify the country and reduce the foreign debt by way of strict economies and the control of production with the aid of world market prices.

The results have been catastrophic. Inflation currently has reached 100 percent, and the proportion of unemployed among the country's able-bodied population has amounted to 12 percent.

Severe social tension has arisen.

[Valyuzhenich] Nonetheless, market regulators have enabled the capitalist countries to reach a high level of satisfaction of people's requirements and solve many of the social problems with which we currently cannot cope.

[Kamari] The present level of development of the economy and social protection cannot be seen only as a result of the market. The social safeguards have, to a large extent, been secured by the working people themselves by way of a long struggle for their rights. In addition, present-day capitalism is a society of high plan-oriented development of social policy within the framework of the firms, corporations....

The idea of the possibility of covering in a few years the path which the developed capitalist countries have trodden over the last two centuries is utopian.

In adddition, the market will contribute to a tremendous discrepancy in the incomes of different strata of the population. And inasmuch as value criteria different from those in the West are deeply rooted in the people's consciousness, this will be a dangerous source of tension.

Those who delight in the successes of the neo-liberal wave of recent years usually gloss over in silence the fact that it has deepened the gulf between the developed and developing countries. In addition, it has made it possible to postpone a new world crisis thanks to the extensive attraction of credit—the United States, whose debt is the equivalent of the aggregate debt of all countries of the so-called third world, has become the principal world debtor.

[Valyuzhenich] So you are against both the overcentralization of bureaucratic planning and the market. What in this case do you see as the solution?

[Kamari] The choice is not between the market (allegedly bringing with it efficiency and democracy... for those with money and jobs) and social protection (given inefficient bureaucratic planning and an absence of political liberties)! This is a false alternative, which should be rejected.

I am not against the market as such, I am against dictatorship of the market (like dictatorship of the bureaucracy also), against seeking in the market a panacea for all troubles. The market is necessary, but under society's control. The main salvation, however, lies in economic democracy, in self-management.

The working people have no reason to accept as something which goes without saying inequality imposed by the dictatorship of the market in place of the inequality imposed by the dictatorship of the bureaucracy. They have no reason to consider just (as a consequence of allegedly "universal economic laws") the fact that they are seen as a "thing," a "commodity" which may be used and may also be kicked out by the enterprises depending on market criteria.

Labor should be freed from its hired status. After all, even capitalists of the most advanced countries have been forced in their own way to recognize this fact. They are attempting to enlist the working people in the solution of production questions and link their interests with the interests of the employers. They are even developing "company" ideology to this end. But the framework of this "self-management" of the working people is, of course, limited.

The new technology is oriented exclusively toward the criteria of profitability. It is destroying more jobs than it is creating. Under these conditions it may confidently be said that capitalism cannot eliminate the class struggle by having replaced it with corporate spirit: The agitation of the indigent and the unemployed will prevent this.

[Valyuzhenich] Are the crisis processes currently occurring in our country the result of socialism, in your opinion?

[Kamari] Can the system in which there has been no "free association of producers" and in which there has been no control on the part of society over public ownership be called "socialism?" I believe not.

Judging by the press, some economists in your country are now saying that the model of socialism was wrong from the start. To blame for everything, allegedly, is the October Revolution, which plunged the country into all the subsequent disasters. It is maintained even that there were no alternatives to Stalinism, which was based, it is said, on the ideas of socialism. These opinions are based on the ignorance of people who lack an in-depth knowledge of their own history. The platform of the left opposition which opposed Stalin and offered an alternative path of the development of socialism has still not been published in your country. Yet we are now approaching its ideas—the development of a genuinely socialist democracy and self-management.

## Energy Shortage Threatens Transbaykal Railroad

*904H0066A Moscow GUDOK in Russian*
*22 Nov 89 p 1*

[Article by A. Durov: "In the Grip of an Energy Shortage"]

[Text] Chita—Unless they come up with electricity or diesel fuel for the engines soon at the Transbaykal Railroad, the threat of disruptions will loom for the Transsiberian Main Line.

As soon as the Transbaykal area began to operate on the winter schedule the issue of electricity supply for railroad traffic became acute again. At present, about 20 megawatts are lacking for electric engines in Chita Oblast. Some of the freight trains on electrified segments again have to be pulled by diesel engines despite the fact that diesel fuel is also in short supply.

There is just one reason: As soon as the railroad commissions a new electrified segment, the Gosplan [State Planning Committee] immediately reduces centralized fuel deliveries by a corresponding number of tons.

All of this conceals an entire tangle of regional and state-wide problems associated mainly with miscalculations in planning and anarchy in construction. This, however, is a topic for a separate in-depth discussion. In this instance, let us note just several main aspects. The shortage of electricity for train traction during the winter season did not develop in the Transbaykal area overnight. As long ago as 1984, when it became clear that the construction of the Kharanor GRES [State Rayon Power

Station] in the south of Chita Oblast was being delayed indefinitely, the current difficult situation could be predicted.

The electrified segments commissioned turned out not to have a reliable supply of electricity. Most of the traction substations on the railroad are fed by electricity from just one side, from Amur Oblast. Due to this, the electricity supply system loses its ability to self-regulate, and the excessive length of electric lines frequently brings about emergency situations.

In Chita Oblast, the shortage of electricity during the winter season amounts to approximately 120 megawatts. Due to this, critical situations occurred several times in mid-November which disrupted the supply of heat to the oblast center. The expansion of one of the TETs [thermal power stations] in Chita which got under way ran into the resolute protests by the residents: The ecological situation in the city sandwiched in between two mountain ranges is very acute to begin with. In a word, there is no way to get rid of the energy shortage without the Kharanor GRES. They are planning to commission the first unit of this power station in 1991 instead of 1984. However, even this date is justifiably in doubt.

The management of the Transbaykal Railroad is trying to find a way out of the difficult situation. The latter has been discussed on several occasions by the USSR Council of Ministers. However, the assignments of the Council of Ministers to the Gosplan and the Minenergo [Ministry of Electric Power and Electrification] have not been carried out.

On 20 November, the power supply situation at the Transbaykal Railroad was comprehensively discussed by the CPSU Chita City Committee. Proposals by the railroad to reduce the consumption of power for production needs so as to provide electric traction for trains on the segment between Shilka and Chernyshevsk were considered. Besides, a set of measures aimed at saving electricity inside Chita Oblast was worked out. It is possible that some of the enterprises will take a break on the days of the week other than Saturday and Sunday. All of this should ensure regular train traffic, at least for the time being. However, it is still not clear what is in store for the road on cold winter days. At a minimum, 30,000 tons of diesel fuel are needed in order to ensure regular operations.

## Scientific

### 'Kvant-2-Mir' Docking Set for 6 Dec

*LD0512114589 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Mission control of the Soviet space module "Kvant-2" is preparing for another attempt to dock it with the orbiting station "Mir".

Our correspondent reports that the sophisticated operation is expected at 12 hours 20 minutes UTC tomorrow [6 December].

The first attempt last Saturday failed. Electronic devices halted the approach of the multiton apparatus at a distance of 20 kilometers. All the systems of the module and the station are functioning normally. The crew of the "Mir" station, Viktorenko and Serebrov, are preparing to receive the new lab.

### Nuclear Energy Program Encounters Difficulties

*AU2911202489 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21 Nov 89 p 5*

[NOVOSTI article 'special for ZYCIE WARSZAWY' by Yuryi Kanin, NOVOSTI Science correspondent: "Uncertain Fate—Nuclear Energy in the Soviet Union"]

[Text] The Soviet nuclear power industry is in a state of crisis. The disaster at Chernobyl had a profound psychological effect on the whole country, and all development projects in this industry have been shelved for the time being.

After the catastrophic earthquake, the nuclear powered electricity station in Armenia was shut down, even though that station did not suffer any effects from the underground cataclysm. Following demands by seismologists and the protests by public opinion, all design, project, and construction work was halted on the nuclear power stations in Azerbaijan, Georgia, the Krasnodarskiy Oblast, and the thermo-nuclear power stations in Minsk, and Odessa. During those days, decisions were made to redesign the Crimean nuclear power station that was being constructed in this holiday resort area in the south of our country. This will now become a training station for personnel from other nuclear power stations. The current session of the Supreme Soviet has also decided to suspend work on the Chigirin nuclear power station, although there is as yet no official document on this matter. In Bashkir and Tartar the local authorities and the people of these autonomous republics have protested against similar local projects. In this way, owing to the accident at Chernobyl, there is now a lack of 30 million units of power [as published] which were planned for (to be produced by nuclear power stations). Providing a supply of electricity throughout the country is becoming more difficult. Both people and local authorities are protesting against the construction of nuclear power stations, as well as coal-powered, and even hydroelectric power electricity generating stations, on their territories. Everyone wishes to obtain electricity from his neighbor—stated the Minister of Energy at the recent meeting of the Supreme Soviet. The Planning Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers hopes to present a new energy program for the country before the end of this year, but it is already becoming doubtful whether the Supreme Council will accept the new program.

That is why—I was informed by Viktor Sidorenko, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee on Security Controls in Nuclear Energy Construction, and corresponding member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences—we are also preparing other and parallel energy programs which are being elaborated by separate individual groups of scientists of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

In your opinion what place in these programs should go to nuclear energy—I asked Viktor Sidorenko?

First, I would like to explain what place it occupies today—answered Sidorenko. In the USSR today there are 15 nuclear powered electricity generating stations which have a combined output of 33 million kilowatts. These power stations account for about 12 percent of our total power output and it is difficult to imagine how we could replace this. I simply do not believe that we can develop economically without nuclear energy. Of course the amount of projected electricity will not be what we previously planned (before the accident at Chernobyl we were projecting the construction of 40 nuclear power stations throughout the Soviet Union, before 1995). At present, the rate of increase of our actual needs—which are already proving difficult to satisfy—will require that we double the amount of power that we obtain from nuclear power stations within the next 20 years.

Viktor Sidorenko also stresses the fact that the current Soviet nuclear energy program is now based on pressure water reactors. Very strict security controls are applied to these, including the so-called means of controlling unexpected chain of occurrences. There is now a whole package of technical aids which are capable of reducing the effect of any accident which occurs as a result of an unexpected sequence of events in the power station.

Society has already been informed about all these new security measures which have been instituted in nuclear power stations. Nevertheless, people still refuse to believe that an accident like the one at Chernobyl could not happen again, and until they regain that confidence, the fate of the USSR nuclear energy program remains uncertain.

## Poor Nuclear Plant Safety Planning Alleged

*904E0018A Moscow TRUD in Russian 27 Oct 89 p 2*

[Letter to the editor of TRUD: "Allow Me To Disagree"]

[Text] For many years I have been working for the Odessa Center for Metrology and Standardization (CMS) in the Department of Radiation Control. I, as well as my colleagues from the Southern-Ukrainian AES [Atomic Power Station], chanced to come across an incredible irresponsibility in the area of radiation safety and control. At first I thought that such a situation existed only there, but after I had worked 2 years at Chernobyl, I came to the conclusion that such phenomena at AES's are quite typical. More than once I wrote to Minenergo [Ministry of Power and Electrification] to describe the outrageous abuses of the systems of reactor shielding and control and in-pile and radiation control.

It is my knowledge that not a single project of an AES had undergone any testing for ecology, metrology, or any specific purposes. In Rovno, for instance, there is no efficient control of radioactive wastes. The RK (Kalina) system that they use can produce data only at the time of an accident. My statement seemingly questions the positive conclusions given by a special commission of the International Atomic Energy Agency about the control systems at that particular station. However, it seems to me that the commission's members either used indirect information, or the given information was improperly presented to them.

I am not against nuclear power stations, as you might think, but I am against their design, not to mention the quality of their equipment. The Southern Ukrainian station is in a state of permanent turmoil: It has constant leaks in all of its steam generators. Systems of radiation data and measurements were not tested as they were designed and installed. Therefore it is a technological impossibility to provide a periodic metrology check.

[Signed] A. Starishch, chief of the Department of Radiation Control Measurements for the Center of Standardization and Metrology. Odessa.

THE TRUD LETTERS-TO-THE-EDITOR DEPARTMENT deemed it necessary to clarify the point of view of those who were criticized by A. Starishch. Here is what we were told in the Department of Radiation Control of Gospromatomnadzor [State Inspection of Atomic Power] of the USSR.

State metrology inspection at nuclear power stations is done by the Centers for Standardization and Metrology of Gosstandart [State Standardization Agency] of the USSR. A. Starishch works in one of these. Last March he refused to take part in a scheduled inspection tour of the Southern-Ukrainian AES, even though he had been included in the inspecting committee.

As for the AES designs which include reactor VVER-1000 (Southern Ukrainian, Zaporozhskaya, Khmelnitskaya, Balakovskaya, Kalininskaya—all in all, 14 power generators), they all have undergone general tests for Gosstroy [Central State Construction Agency] of the USSR, Minzdrav [Ministry of Health] of the USSR, Gospromatomnadzor [State Inspection of Atomic Power] of the USSR, and departmental tests for Minenergo [Ministry of Power and Electrification] of the USSR, the USSR State Committee of Science and Technology, and the USSR State Committee of Prices.

It is true that the aforementioned projects have not been tested for metrology. For that, our agency is responsible, together with some others. So the author of the letter is quite correct in that regard, but he himself is also responsible for the state inspection over nuclear power

stations in his region. It is in his jurisdiction to examine power stations both active and those under construction, to report about elimination of "outrageous abuses" and to stop the trend of "incredible irresponsibility." That, for instance, is the usual practice among state inspectors of the Khmelnitsky Center of Metrology and Standardization. There is not much progress yet: Metrological equipment is expensive and there is no money. (For information purposes: A power generator with a VVER-1000 reactor costs R300-500 million rubles. A similar generator in another country—the United States, France, the FRG—costs $1.5-2.5 billion and they also allocate considerable amounts of money for metrological equipment.)

As for the Kalina unit for air quality control, it may be said that it provides rather adequate information about radionuclids both gaseous and aerosol. Apart from that, lately the new stations have been equipped with improved units.

And, finally, one can hardly judge the methods of the International Atomic Energy Agency experts' work without knowing their programs. According to our information, they had access to the type of data on Soviet AES' which are not always disclosed to every specialist.

## Doubts Persist on Gorkiy Nuclear Station

*PM2811103589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Nov 89 Second Edition p 2*

[O. Plakhotnikova report: "Appraisal Ended—Problems Remain"]

[Text] The appraisal of the Gorkiy nuclear heat-supply station by specialists from the International Atomic Energy Authority [IAEA] has ended. A sitting of the I. Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute open discussion club was devoted to its results.

"A reactor with increased reliability will operate at the Gorkiy heat-supply station," M. Rozen, leader of the IAEA safety subdivision, stated. "It can work at a lower temperature and pressure than an ordinary nuclear power station. This significantly reduces the potential scale of an accident. Equipment used in the design has been tested at other facilities. Another definite "plus point" of the design is that in the event of an accident, special measures have been included—for example, an additional safety vessel. The design incorporates the ability to rectify an operator's actions if he has made a mistake. In our opinion, the release of radioactive substances is ruled out in any situation."

As for compliance with demands regarding construction quality, in foreign specialists' opinion, all the construction work is being conducted at an "internationally acceptable standard."

So the appraisal has ended with an unconditional "yes" to the Gorkiy nuclear power station. Its results are set out in a bulky 300-page report by IAEA specialists which also contains a number of specific recommendations to improve the station's work. But does this mean that after the international check, which was undoubtedly a positive step, all debate regarding the station's future fate must be ended? I think not.

With all due respect to the foreign specialists' experience and qualifications, it has to be said that many questions still remain on the agenda today. Radioactive waste from the Gorkiy nuclear heat-supply station is to be kept not on the territory of the station itself, which, incidentally, is the usual practice at nuclear power stations, but in a special storage facility. Do the people of Gorkiy want to have yet another unsafe facility in their oblast? Hardly.

The IAEA representatives also noted that there is a certain risk in any nuclear facility. If worse came to worse, where could the city of 1.5 million people just some five km from the station be evacuated to?

One last point. In September there was a seminar on nuclear power problems in which CPSU representatives and delegations from the "Green" party (FRG) and the Soviet ecological public took part and which spoke of the extremely poor quality of construction at the Gorkiy nuclear power station. I do not presume to judge who is right here—the meeting's participants or the IAEA experts. One thing is clear—the issue is too serious to call a halt to discussion.